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WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME

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CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY

WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME

BY

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FOREWORD

This report on *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time* is one of the seven sections of the report of the Recreation Survey of Cleveland conducted by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation in 1917. Six of these sections will be published as separate monographs. In addition, there will be a larger volume giving a summary of the findings and recommendations of the six sectional studies, with a comprehensive recreation program for the community as a whole. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Cleveland Foundation. A complete list will be found in the back of this volume, together with prices.

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WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME

INTRODUCTION

In any study of recreation one would naturally suppose that an analysis of the positive influence of recreation in the development of personality would be considered of primary importance. Such an inquiry should supplement in an important way the studies which have concerned themselves with the relation of recreation to juvenile delinquency.[1] These negative studies have shown that recreation has a bearing on conduct; yet the direct method of ascertaining what part recreation has played in the development of wholesome citizens has not hitherto been employed. It has seemed wise to the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation to attempt such a study; this volume is the result of that undertaking.

One must confess at the outset that the difficulties in the way of arriving at conclusions in an inquiry of this sort, with due regard for scientific method, are numerous and by no means trivial. The very

[1] Cf. *Delinquency and Spare Time,* Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. I.

first difficulty we face is that of defining what we are to study. What is meant by a "wholesome citizen?" What are the standards by which we select him? When we have selected him are we sure that he fits the requirements closely enough to make us feel certain that what we find in his recreational history is significant?

If we might say with finality that all the people here studied are indeed wholesome within the terms of our definition, we should be inclined to be very much more dogmatic in our conclusions. On the other hand, the searching inquiries of the investigating staff found no unwholesome citizens among the persons whose histories were finally included in this report. It must be said that the persons selected, out of a very much larger number suggested for this inquiry, were chosen very much at random, with an eye only to securing in a broad way a proper representation of occupations and sexes, with some slight attention to the nationalities which make up the population of Cleveland.

An even more difficult question seems to present itself in the changing modes of recreation. Have not the spare-time activities of children so changed since the people of this study were children, that the conclusions will have little value in indicating how the spare time of the child of today should be used? This question, however, finds answer in the fact that, while particular spare-time activities change from generation to generation, certain general types of spare-time uses, which comprehend and classify

many and divergent activities, persist. Hence, the conclusions here reached are based not upon considerations of the specific pursuit which occupied the spare time of the persons in question, but, so far as the nature of the activity itself enters into our deductions, upon considerations of the type of activity to which the particular spare-time habit may be referred.

In order to arrive at a working basis it was necessary to formulate a definition of a wholesome person. The author began with Professor Franklin Giddings' summary of the characteristics of a social personality: *susceptibility to suggestion and to imitation* in respect of all matters of material well-being, to the degree that its possessor desires and endeavors to live at least as well as the average, fairly successful, fairly well-to-do members of the community; *toleration*, in the sense of refraining from active interference with his fellows in their life-struggle; *helpfulness*, *sympathy*, *companionableness*.[1] After supplementing this definition with certain suggestions of his own, the writer submitted the resulting list of the attributes which should mark a wholesome citizen to a number of sociologists and persons interested in social matters, with a request that they criticize the list as given, suggesting any necessary characteristics that had been omitted and canceling any that they considered non-essential or not fundamental. These suggestions were correlated, and the

[1] F. P. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), pp. 123–4.

following request sent to a large number of people in Cleveland:

The Cleveland Foundation is making an investigation to ascertain, if possible, what recreations are constructive and socially helpful. In order to select the people whose recreations we may study it seems necessary to set up some standard by which to judge whether or not a given individual is a wholesome person. After considerable thought and discussion of the matter with prominent people, both in Cleveland and outside of the city, the following list of points of conduct has been accepted as characterizing the wholesome member of society:

Honest dealing
Industry
Persistence
Care of health
Control of physical appetites
Sociability
Use of an elementary English education
An outside-of-work-hours activity
Practical conduct of important affairs of everyday life
Care of family
Helpfulness to the less fortunate
Support of a cause or ideal
Co-operation in a group or community program

We are asking you to suggest the names of as many people as possible who show the attributes named in our list. Different individuals will manifest these characteristics in varying degrees. It is suggested that any person who is characterized in any degree by the kinds of conduct suggested be included in your list.

Your co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

Out of the list of persons thus secured, 160 individuals were chosen to be interviewed, the selection representing roughly the local distribution of population with respect to nationality, occupation, and sex. Each of these persons was visited by Mr. Henry Barnbrock, of the Recreation Association of America,

or by one of his assistants. Very careful biographies of these individuals, including their family, educational, vocational, and religious histories, with reviews of their recreational activities from childhood up to the year of this study, were secured.

No person was interviewed who was less than 20 years of age; almost all of those questioned were over 25. Care was taken as far as possible to frame the inquiries so as to elicit facts rather than opinions. Among all the questions of the schedule,[1] only one called for the subject's own estimate as to whether the spare-time activities in which he had engaged had been helpful or harmful; and after study of the replies to this question it was decided not to use them as data of the report. As will appear in the following pages, the aim of the inquiry has been to array the facts regarding the recreational past of the individuals interviewed, and from these facts to draw our own conclusions.

Our wholesome citizens reported upon their spare-time activities during four periods of their lives: (1) in childhood and youth, up to the time of leaving school (this period is subdivided between elementary and higher schools); (2) from the close of the school period until marriage, or up to the age of 25; (3) from the time of marriage, or from the twenty-fifth year of age, up to the year preceding this inquiry—the "past year" in relation to the time of the interview; (4) the time regarded as "the present," i. e., the year of the survey.

[1] For form used, see Appendix, p. 179.

Three main questions are answered by this study:

1) What part did recreations have in the development of these wholesome citizens?

2) What kinds of recreations or spare-time activities did these wholesome people engage in at various periods of their lives?

3) How did they come to form these habits of using spare time?

Other questions subsidiary to these are also answered, as: What bearing have family, educational, vocational, and religious influences, as well as recreations, had on the development of these persons?

CHAPTER I

HIGH LIGHTS OF THE STUDY

As we sum up the evidence secured in these interviews, certain summary facts will be found to stand out in the recreational careers of our wholesome citizens:

1. We may conclude that the evidence shows that spare-time activities, either directly or indirectly, have had a vital influence upon the development of these people. These activities have not been the only ones which wrought the marvel of wholesome personality, but that they have entered in as a factor is shown beyond the shadow of a doubt. They have been more uniformly present than any other factor, though they have not claimed interest in the same forms, nor elicited equal intensity of interest or participation, nor occupied the same relative places in favor throughout the lives of these individuals. The physically active, individualized pursuits of youth have tended to be replaced gradually by the more sedentary and conventionalized interests traditionally ascribed to maturer years; but throughout, even at both extremes, the spare-time occupations of this group have been of a healthy, lively, purposeful sort, molding through a participative

activity the social and intellectual as well as the physical life of the individual. They have been activities that release from work-a-day routine, and as these people have come into maturity of years and established place in the community, their activities have tended increasingly to build up and to enrich social and socializing relationships for them.

2. An outstanding fact that this study has revealed is the absence of activities or contacts usually associated with viciousness. As already indicated, most of the spare-time activities here reported are colorless morally in themselves; their wholesomeness or viciousness depends to a degree upon whether they contribute to or are contributed by connections with wholesome or with vicious people. The absence of personal influences of the latter sort is noteworthy in the lives of all of these people. The activities which these people report are such as call for the exercise of a great variety of powers innate in the individual; such exercise makes for wholesomeness.

3. From our study it appears that there are certain natural tendencies in the human organism which bring it about that as people become older they are attracted by changing types of activity. It also indicates that custom or tradition and convention in the use of spare time determine to a very large extent how people use their lesiure. Certain outstanding activities—reading, going to the theater, and musical interests—enjoy a relatively constant popularity throughout the lives of our individuals.

But dancing, going to parties, home duties, ball-playing, rowing, working, football, entertainments, and swimming decline in popularity from childhood on. Certain activities peculiar to school life, and to childhood and adolescence, no longer have a place in the maturer interests of our group. On the other hand, visiting relatives or friends, travel, concerts, miscellaneous and social clubs, sewing and crocheting, card-playing, lectures, and charitable and social activities increase in popularity from period to period in the lives of these people.

In the course of the successive age periods conventional spare-time interests turn less and less to outdoor, athletic activities; as people grow older their pursuits tend to diverge more and more from those forms which have been established in the history of the race. This is especially true of the activities of men. Their activities in the later periods follow the lead of the women's, emphasizing the trend away from the more direct and simply organized and physically active pursuits.

Business and society both have laid their cramping hands upon the freedom of men's leisure. The athletic and out-of-door activities give place to committee meetings, the pleasures of the club and of the table, social events, and other social and business affairs with a recreational string attached. For all their wholesomeness spiritually, and their socializing contribution to the lives of these people, the later-life pursuits of our group are such as open the door to the serious ills of a relaxed physical life.

Offsetting this tendency, certain recent vogues in spare-time activities have arisen, such as motoring, the vacation habit, walking or hiking, and golf.

4. The number of new interests acquired after the school-life period is very small. This is indicated by the more striking shrinkage in range of activities from the elementary school period to the high school and college period, as compared with that in the periods which follow.

5. The greatest single influence in the formation of spare-time habits among our people—except in one period—is shown to be suggestion coming from relatives and friends. "Carried over from a previous period" most largely accounts for the interests of the marriage-to-past-year period; this factor of influence is accorded second place in each of the other periods after the first. Hence, suggestion and habit account in most cases for the molding into the lives of our group of such spare-time activities as we have found.

6. As regards the part played by other personalities in the spare-time choices of our individuals, it will be found that other children of like age rank first in measure of influence; next to these, parents; then older children in the home; then adults other than parents in the home; and then adults outside of the home. The recreational life of boys is shown to be molded less by personal influences in the home than that of girls; so far as we can judge, this holds true also of their non-recreational activities.

7. Conditions both in the homes and in the

neighborhoods in which these Clevelanders grew up appear to have been very favorable to wholesome development; opportunities for a constructive use of other than leisure time likewise were numerous and favorable.

8. The very favorable home conditions of our 160 people stand out markedly. While their parents represent all classes economically, a lack of broken homes, and a preponderance of homes characterized by fairly strong and interested personalities, come out clearly in the study, as conditioning factors in the various kinds of personal development which our histories illustrate.

9. The absence of close chums in childhood outside of the home circle, and the absence of gang affiliations, give the impression that the youthful spare time of our selected individuals was rather carefully supervised, and out-of-home associations fairly well censored.

10. A large place, and on the whole a beneficial one, will be found to have been held in the lives of these people and of their parents by the church.

11. The individuals whose histories make up this study are shown to be fairly typical with respect to sex, nationality, occupation, and conditions of birth and rearing, of the whole population of Cleveland.

12. A period-for-period analysis of the activities of the group as a whole shows specifically how the various tendencies outlined above mark the given periods. The 160 Clevelanders of our study before the close of the elementary school period of their

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lives engaged in 153 different activities. The largest number of these occupied their time elsewhere than at home or at school or in vacations. In this period reading and home duties are found to have occupied more of their leisure at home than other activities; ball and tag-playing more of their spare time at school; skating and picnics more of their spare time elsewhere. Visiting relatives or friends, and swimming, were the chief pursuits of their vacations. In this period 98 of our people had a physically active spare-time life, while 62 led a distinctly less active recreational life; but all the pursuits of this period engaged the native interests and powers of the individuals and developed recreation habits which were not passive but participative.

In the high school and college years—110 of our group attended secondary schools, and 53 had a college experience—the respective individuals concerned show some marked changes in their ways of using spare time. Instead of 253 different spare-time activities, they report only 107; while reading occupies first place in the choices reported for both periods, some of the more vigorous activities have yielded to those connected with social and conspicuously adolescent interests. During this period the preferences of the boys, in contrast to those of the girls, lean to the more active, less sedentary activities.

During the period from the time of leaving school to the time of marriage, or up to the twenty-fifth year of age, the recreations of the masculine section

of the group become less active and more sedentary, and the more active leisure occupations of the feminine portion of the group are seen to be yielding to those that are social in their nature.

During the period extending from the time of marriage, or from the twenty-fifth year of age, to the year preceding this study, the number of spare-time activities shrinks still more. Business and social interests encroach upon the strictly leisure pursuits; the tendencies of the period indicate certain socially helpful developments, but in the fact that the latter overshadow the habits of physical activity there is also a source of danger to the physical well-being of our people. During this period the differences between the activities of the men and of the women become less marked.

In the period designated as "the present"—i. e., the year of this inquiry—although the number of spare-time activities increases slightly, there is evident, if the activities reported by only one or two persons are eliminated from consideration, the same narrowing of recreational interests; but with this narrowing of the variety of activities goes a concentration upon those that are left. Social and business leisure-time interests further displace the active and more or less individualistic pursuits. This situation altogether indicates merely that the inclination of childhood and youth to experiment is waning, while habit and convention become more dominant.

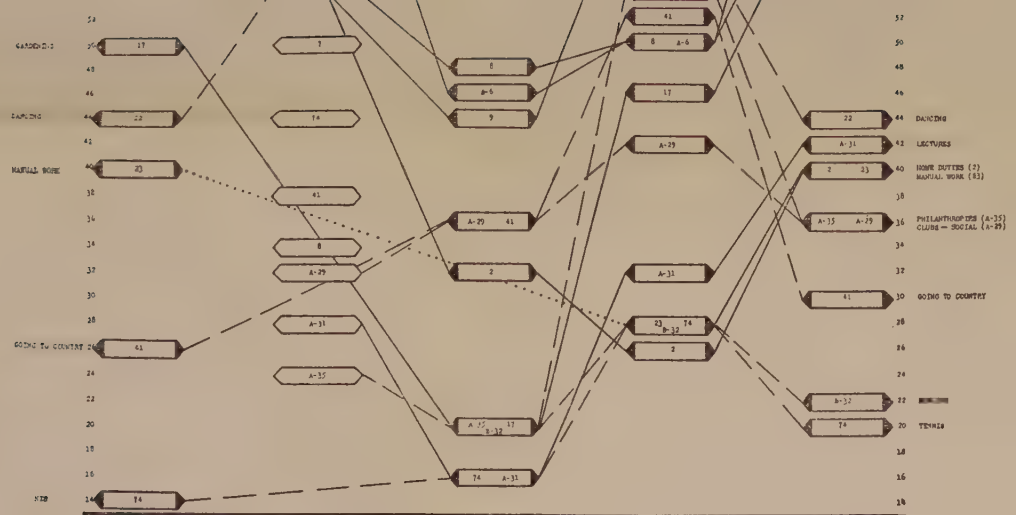
CHAPTER II

GENERAL TRENDS OF THE FOUR AGE PERIODS

As the spare-time habits of each period are analyzed, some points of comparison with the recreations of the respective preceding periods will be outlined. But a comparison of all the periods with one another gives a clearer idea of the influence of earlier recreations on those of later life.

A later phase of our discussion (chap. vii) will present an intensive consideration of the various pursuits for each period, together with a comprehensive outline of all the activities of the four periods, in their relation to one another with respect to popularity or place in the interest of the group taken collectively (see Diagram 15).

In the course of such a review interesting deductions readily suggest themselves as to what activities persist or disappear and as to which of these increase or decrease, appear only early or only late in life, which rise and then fall, or fall and rise again, in both actual and relative popularity. Diagram 1 presents graphically the fluctuations in interest or preference which, as the evidences of our study show, affected the various activities reported by our group



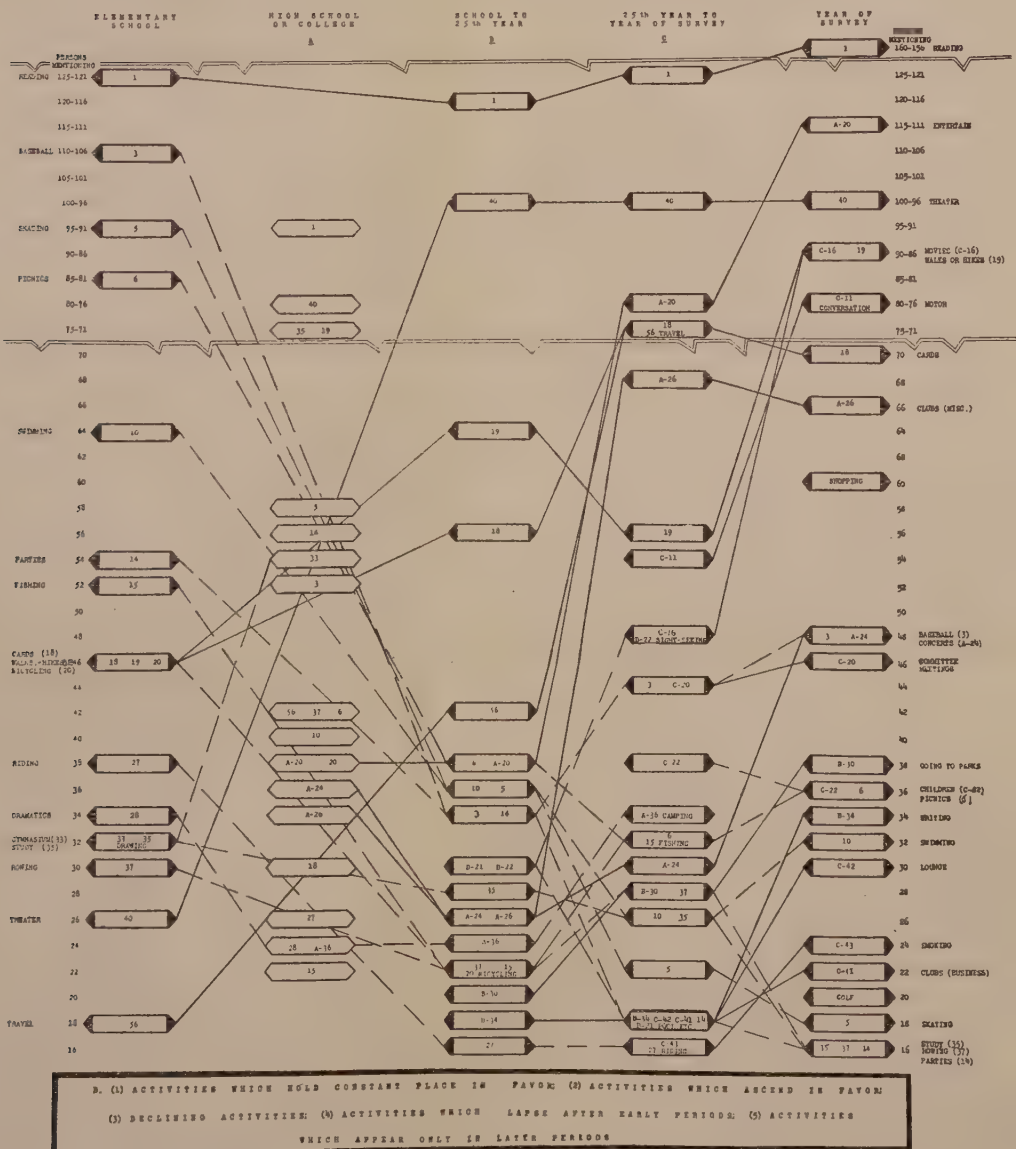


DIAGRAM 1.—CHANGING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE AND POPULARITY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FOUR AGE PERIOD

of wholesome people in the course of the successive age periods.

The five columns of blocks represent the spare-time activities of our 160 people for the four inclusive age periods. The first two columns show the activities of the school-life period, in its two divisions—(1) the elementary school years, and (2) the high school and college years; the third column represents the activities of (3) the school-to-marriage period; the fourth column includes the activities of (4) the marriage-to-past-year period; the last column represents the activities of (5) the "present" time. Each block of the first period stands for the one or more activities designated opposite it at the left in the outer column; for the sake of added convenience in identifying the activities, as well as in order to identify such activities as are begun after the first period and therefore are not named in the left-hand column, this column of names is repeated at the right.

The figures within the blocks may be explained as follows: In the first column, they indicate for the first period the order of popularity, in relation to one another, of the respective activities which the blocks designate. These numbers are retained as *key numbers* to designate the same respective activities throughout the remaining periods. In this way an activity can readily be identified from period to period. The connecting lines trace the relative rankings of the activities from period to period. A dotted line connecting a block in one period with a

corresponding block in a period at two or three removes from the former shows that the activity in question has lapsed in the intervening period or periods.

The columns of figures at either side against the blocks, headed "Persons Mentioning," indicate the numbers of persons reporting the respective activities. Where it occurs that two or more activities are reported by like numbers of persons, the key number of each is given in parenthesis against the name of the activity in the outer column; this is for purposes of identification in blocks which represent two or more activities.

As will be seen from these figures, only those activities named by 15 or more persons are represented in the diagrams (except in the case of tennis, Section A), and the numbers of persons reporting these activities are given by gradations of two for those named by not more than 70 persons; i. e., the blocks on a line with the numeral *16* represent activities named by 15 or by 16 persons, those on a line with the numeral *17* represent pursuits named by 17 or by 18 persons, etc. The scale changes with those activities named by more than 70 persons; up to those named by 90 persons in Section A, and 125 persons in Section B, the gradation is by 5 points. In each section respectively one activity is named by a considerably larger number of persons than any other—home duties in Section A, reading in Section B—and for these the departure from scale is likewise indicated. The places at which changes in

scale occur are indicated by the double ridged lines crossing the diagrams.

Out of the 160 persons studied, 110 went to high school or college. The mentions of the recreations of the high school and college period have been weighted so as to make them comparable with those of the other periods. The scores have been increased by 45 per cent in order to show what the popularity of these recreations would have been with 160 persons reporting, instead of the 110 of our group who actually did secure the higher education. The blocks of the first column, for the elementary school period, and those of the second column, for the high school and college period, are not connected with one another, nor the blocks of the second period with the blocks in the third or after-school column.[1] This break in the scheme of the diagram was made because for 50 of our people there was no progression from the elementary school to the high school and college period, but instead directly to what we have defined as the after-school or working period. This intermediate or second school period in the lives of those who did go to high school or to college, however, is represented by the second column

[1] Two exceptions will be noted in Diagram 15, which shows the entire range of activities: (1) two activities which begin in childhood and are carried only through the high school and college period are connected to show this relation (these do not appear in the present diagram); (2) eight activities begin only in the latter period and are continued into later life, and are therefore connected with those of the third period for the sake of emphasizing this sequence (these are represented in this diagram as well).

of blocks showing the relative popularity of the interests of this period. The third column represents the sequel to both the elementary and the high school and college periods. This manner of relating the periods seems to be the fairest way of showing the relation of all the activities of youth to those of later life. The broken lines show the relations of such activities as take a waning course; the full lines, of those which in the last period hold a higher place in favor than in the first.

When an activity appears in only one period its name is lettered into the block instead of a key number. Similarly, when an activity is not carried through all the periods, the name is lettered into its block for that period in which it ends. The names of such activities do not appear in the outer columns; the latter, therefore, present a list of those activities which are sustained through more than one period—i. e., such as begin in the first period and are sustained through more than one period, and such as begin later and are carried through to the last period.

Where an activity appears for the first time in the high school or college period its key number is prefixed by the letter *A;* where it appears for the first time in the second period, by the letter *B;* where it appears for the first time in the third period, by the letter *C*. An activity which appears only in the last period, since it appears but once, is designated by the name itself lettered into the block.

Of those activities which persist through the four periods, the following steadily increase in popularity: reading, going to the theater (including moving-picture shows), entertaining, walking or hiking, playing cards, interest in clubs—other than social and business organizations—going to concerts, writing, and travel (this last has been interrupted by the war). Late in life appear motoring, conversation, shopping, committee work, playing with children, golf, lounging, business clubs, and smoking. Most of the activities of this second group are on the increase.

In contrast to these, the decreasing and disappearing activities are especially significant. They are baseball, picnics, swimming, skating, studying, rowing, and parties, which decrease; and dramatics, drawing, gymnasium, bicycling, horseback-riding, sight-seeing, camping, fishing, and playing pool and billiards, which disappear entirely.

Comparison of these two groups—the persisting and the disappearing activities—shows clearly how the physically active recreations are replaced by sedentary pursuits. Table I (see also Diagram 2) presents a statistical comparison of the relative place in importance of the physically active, the semi-active, and the sedentary pursuits in each of the four age periods. The respective rankings for the three classes of pursuits are obtained by averaging within each period the rankings in preference given to all the occupations of each of the three types. The lowest of these averages for any one

type in the five age divisions ranks as 1, the next lowest, 2, and so on. In this tabulation, therefore, the column in which rank 1 occurs for any given one of the three types of activities indicates the period in which that type of pursuit stood highest in popularity or predominated in the kinds of uses made of spare time, and the column in which rank 5 for that given type occurs shows in what period that type of activity fell lowest in favor or was least characteristic of all the spare-time choices made.

TABLE I

RANKING IN POPULARITY SHOWN BY THE AVERAGES OF THE RANKINGS, FOR THE RESPECTIVE AGE PERIODS, OF THE ACTIVE, SEMI-ACTIVE, AND SEDENTARY PURSUITS

TYPES OF PURSUITS	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PERIOD		HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE PERIOD		SCHOOL-TO-MARRIAGE PERIOD		MARRIAGE-TO-PAST-YEAR PERIOD		"PRESENT" YEAR	
	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank	Av.	Rank
Physically active	22.1	3	17.0	1	21.6	2	24.0	4	27.0	5
Semi-active	20.0	1	24.0	5	22.0	3	22.0	3	20.0	1
Sedentary	19.0	4	19.0	4	18.0	3	16.0	1	17.0	2

There is a further significance in the fact that the activities which disappear include many, such as dramatics or fishing, which require special talent or initiative or individuality. The recreations which establish themselves increasingly are noticeably conventional, customary, and lacking in individuality and originality. An observer of this tendency has

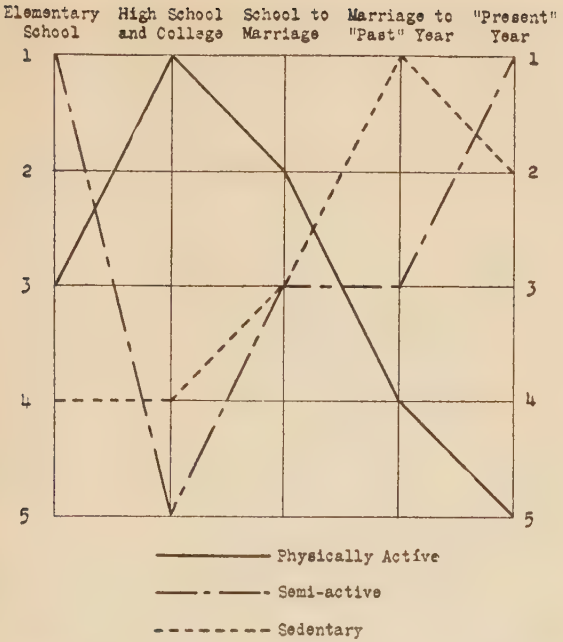


Diagram 2.—Relative Ranking in Popularity of the Physically Active, Semi-active, and Sedentary Pursuits in the Respective Age Periods

characterized it as the increase of "deadly dullness" among the wholesome citizens of Cleveland.

Another interesting comparison offers between those interests which fall and then rise and those which rise and later fall in popularity (Diagram 1, Section A). The former include visiting, church-going, music, sewing, lectures, gardening, home

duties, and manual work. Those which first increase and then decrease in favor are dancing, charitable occupations, social clubs, going to the country, bowling, and tennis. It is interesting that in both cases all the activities showing this kind of deflection tend to return to the level of popularity which they enjoyed in the periods of childhood or youth: dancing rises and then falls, beginning at 44 mentions and ending at 43; music falls and then rises, starting with 65 mentions and ending with 71 in the last period; and manual work follows a like course, being mentioned by 39 persons in both the earliest and the latest period; going to the country increases in popularity in the early periods, only to lose later, showing 26 mentions at the first and 30 at the last.

These comparisons make possible certain distinctly workable conclusions:

The physically active, original, talent-requiring recreations tend to disappear; the conventionalized, non-creative, and sedentary activities increase. On the other hand, distinctive recreation habits persist to the extent to which they are cultivated in youth. The tendency to discard or eschew creative and physical types of recreation in later life could be revolutionized, therefore, by a more extensive deliberate cultivation of such interests in early youth. The extreme conventionality of the pursuits which take the ascendant in popularity indicates only failure, or lack, of such education as would incline the choices of the individual to the more creative and original activities. Cleveland can have cultivated and in-

teresting citizens, as regards their recreational contribution to the community life, in measure as she cares to provide cultural education. The so-called cultural education of the past shows small results, except in the constant popularity of reading. When cultural or avocational education is based on definite and actual possible ends of recreational attainment, it can make a vital contribution to life, just as the present-day vocational training, based on the requirements of actual jobs in the scheme of a working world, is vitalizing our schools.

In all the periods covered in our study, the recreations of the wholesome citizens correspond to very varied interests; they are of a kind which require the exercise of innate powers and which are particularly free from the charge of mere passivity or of a seeking after amusement without exertion of one's self. Here we may have an important clue: the recreations which conduce to wholesomeness, if the experiences of our selected citizens have been typical, are those which release the energies of the individual himself—which are not merely diversions engaging him statically as a spectator, but which supply occasion for a dynamic functioning of his own.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE SPARE-TIME HABITS OF OUR WHOLESOME CITIZENS WERE FORMED

Naturally, the next question after that of the place of the recreational activities in the lives of our wholesome people at various periods, is that of how they came to form these spare-time activities. A careful tabulation of the interview statements on this point shows that only 16 different influences or motives were operative in appreciable degree in the formation of the various spare-time habits reported. The comparative weight of these 16 factors, as measured by the numbers of persons giving credit to each respectively in the development of their recreational lives, is shown in Diagram 3.

Comparing the relative prominence of the various influences and motives in three comprehensive periods—the school years, the school-to-marriage time, and the marriage-to-present period—we observe that, named in order of decreasing importance, they show the following orders of precedence:

1) In the school-life period: suggestion of relatives or friends; facilities at home; inducement of relatives or friends; love of the activity; learning the activity at school; imitation or desire to follow

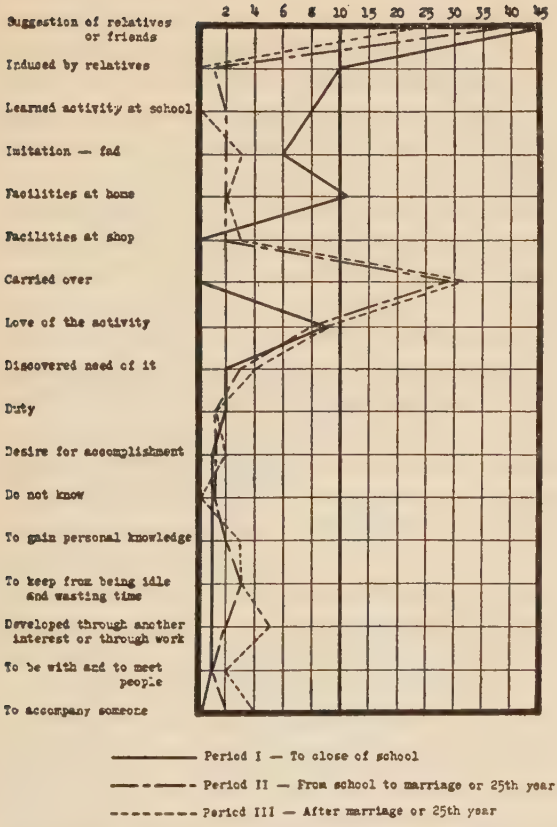


DIAGRAM 3.—COMPARATIVE WEIGHT OF VARIOUS INFLUENCES AND MOTIVES REPORTED AS FACTORS IN THE FORMING OF SPARE-TIME HABITS

a fad; sense of duty; discovering a need of the activity; desire for accomplishment; unspecifiable

influences—i. e., those covered by such replies as, "do not know"; to gain personal knowledge; to keep from being idle and wasting time; to be with people and to meet people; development through another interest or through work; to accompany someone;

2) In the school-to-marriage period: suggestion of relatives or friends; carried over; love of the activity; discovering a need of the activity; to keep from being idle or wasting time; development through another interest or through work; facilities provided at home; facilities provided at the shop; imitation or desire to follow a fad; to accompany someone; desire for accomplishment; learning the activity at school; to be with people and to meet people; inducement of relatives; sense of duty; unspecifiable influences ("do not know");

3) In the marriage-to-present period: carried over; suggestion of relatives or friends; love of the activity; development through another interest or through work; need of the activity; to accompany someone; imitation or desire to follow a fad; to gain personal knowledge; to keep from being idle or wasting time; to be with people and to meet people; facilities provided at the shop; facilities provided at home; desire for accomplishment; sense of duty; "do not know."

Suggestion or Leadership

"Suggested" pursuits.—Reviewing the successive age periods in these three inclusive stages, we discover

that the greatest single influence in the first and second of these is suggestion coming from relatives or friends. Including all forms of suggestion or leadership under this classification, we find that in the school years 70 per cent of these people, in the period from the close of school life to the twenty-fifth year or time of marriage 42 per cent, and in the last period 27 per cent, formed their spare-time activities upon the suggestion of others (see Diagram 4).

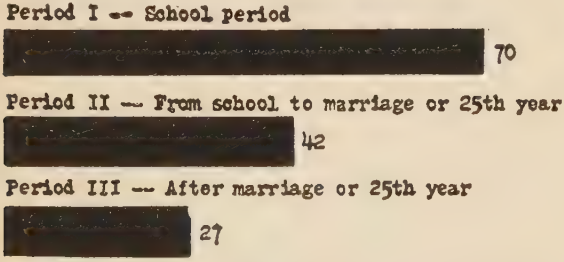


Diagram 4.—Comparative Influence, in Three General Periods, of Suggestion as a Factor in the Formation of Spare-Time Habits

"Carried-over" pursuits.—In the school-to-marriage period 29 per cent of our people carried over the spare-time activities of their earlier years; in the marriage-to-present period, 31 per cent report their activities as carried over from a previous period. In no period did more than 20 per cent pursue specific recreations because of inherent interest in the activities themselves or in the results of the activities.

Suggestion or leadership in recreation, therefore, is shown to be the paramount determinant of spare-time habits—in childhood directly and in adult life indirectly, by reason of the habits formed in earlier life.

Associational Influences

Parents and other adults.—Of the 160 persons interviewed, 74, or 27 men and 47 women, report that they were influenced in their childhood recreational life by their fathers; 75 persons, or 25 men and 50 women, were influenced by their mothers; 40 persons, 12 men and 28 women, were influenced in their homes by adults other than the parents. Outside of the home, 37 of these people, 21 men and 16 women, were in this period influenced by adults; 44 persons, 19 men and 25 women, were influenced by older children in the home; and 145 persons, 62 men and 83 women, were influenced by association with children outside of the home.

From these reports it appears that the fathers exercised more influence in the recreational development of the girls than in that of the boys. The influence of the fathers with both boys and girls, however, was about equal to that of the mothers. Of the boys, 37 per cent were influenced by their fathers and 34 per cent by their mothers; of the girls, 54 per cent were influenced by their fathers and 57 per cent by their mothers. Adults other than parents in the home, adults outside of the home, and older children in the home are seen to have had almost equal share in the shaping of the

recreational habits of our wholesome citizens, but their influence was in each case less than that of parents or playmates.

A few quotations from the schedules will indicate some of the ways in which the influence of other persons, directly or indirectly, affected the development of given persons of our group:

Of one man it is reported that "his parents were very religious. His father encouraged home activities, provided a pool table. The parents read to the family evenings." Another report reads: "The parents provided opportunities for wholesome recreation; family worship was a daily practice in the home." Another testifies: "The mother was very youthful, and usually included in any pleasure or undertaking"; another, "The mother was very musical, developing that side in all of her family." Of one individual it is stated: "His parents were very religious; through their influence he became interested as a boy in church life and in many church activities; he was often with his father after supper, working about the house"; later, after this boy went to work, "his father joined him on many of his bicycle rides." Another reports that "he came to engage in camping and sailing through the invitation of a professor in high school." Of another it is said that "a great deal of her interest in concerts, etc., was due to her friendship with the daughter of an orchestra director. Her oldest sister stimulated an interest in reading, and the father in outdoor activities."

In the recollection of one of the men, "the children were teachers to one another." Of another woman it is said that "the first to be a real inspiration was an aunt with whom she lived for two years." To another, knitting and crocheting were "taught by a woman boarder in the home; jumping rope was learned from the example of other little girls." Again, "W. says that she cannot pay high enough tribute to the influence of her parents. She never went to any parties or anywhere without her mother's taking a deep interest in her activities and hearing about everything that went on. Her father and she were great chums." In the case of one man, "the parents encouraged home recreations, such as billiards, dancing, reading, etc." The spare-time activities of one woman were influenced by her association with the play leaders of a settlement. Of one of the men the interviewer states: "The mother and father were very different, but were both interested in the activities of the children and in many of the same things that he loves. He considers that he was very directly influenced by his grandfather, who was a rabbi."

The practical bearing of these facts is apparent. The importance of home recreations is one of the implications which the schedules bring out; even without any consistent scheme of home recreations, the parents of these people were able to devise means of decisively directing the spare-time activities of their children. Through these spare-time activities, parents and other adults were able to

exercise over these children and youths an influence to the impress of which the latter testify after they have become adults. Such evidences point to possibilities of far-reaching effect, if the spare-time home occupations of children were to be consistently so organized as to admit of the play of adult personalities upon the younger. Why should not some consistent plan be worked out to stimulate the interest of parents and other adults in such a scheme of home recreation, and to help those already engaged in such efforts to use the spare time of younger people constructively?

Playmates.—As potent as the guidance of adults appears to be in determining the uses of spare time among children, vastly more influential are the playmates of the children, according to the testimony here offered. The importance, for the future recreational habits of children, of purposefully organizing the play of the latter among themselves, is made apparent by the fact that only 11 boys and four girls seem to have been uninfluenced by other children. Children associate even more readily with other children of like age than they do with older people; therefore, while provision for home recreation in association with adults is important, it must be supplemented by provision for the right use of the spare time spent in the company of other children. A part of this association occurs in the home and in the home neighborhood. Consequently, there should be facilities in the home for the occupation

of such spare time as the adults naturally connected with the home cannot supervise.

In addition to home facilities and adult supervision, there must be, if the spare-time comradeship of children is to be constructive, provision for neighborhood recreation. Since the crowded conditions of life and the congestion of land characteristic of modern cities necessarily restrict the development of facilities for home play (though recreational experts, if the problem of home recreation were put up to the cities, could without doubt devise many games, for instance, that might helpfully occupy the spare time of children in their homes and in yards) and since, with the present inadequate development of city play space, many children perforce must play in the streets, the recreational agencies of the city should give attention to comprehensive public provision of play spaces for the children of every class. Doubtless play leaders should be provided; these might be organized to some degree from volunteers among the parents and other adults, making up a staff chosen, trained, and carrying out a program devised by the play experts whom the city would put in charge of its whole recreation situation.

The Church in Relation to Use of Spare Time

Very few of our schedules indicate that the people of our group regard the church as a recreational institution. They report merely that it has a place among the influences affecting their lives, with no

attempt to analyze what the place or significance of this influence is. In the discussion (chap. v) of the part which religious associations have played in the lives of a number of these people, care has been taken to give due weight to the non-recreational influence of the church. There is evidence to show that the religious motive attracted and held some of these people; however, it is impossible not to give like recognition to the fact that, in many cases, what attracted the individual to the church and later held him to it was not its religious but its social appeal—its attraction as a place which offered pleasant associations for his leisure. When something happened to disrupt the social ties which bound them to the church, these people in frequent instances stopped attending. In the case of most of these people, the various church activities attracted the adolescent and the older youth, but suffered a great lapse of interest in the later life of the individuals.

A few statements from the schedules, without repeating the evidence presented in chap. v, will give some indication of the function of the church as an agency in the use of spare time. One of the women reports that "through the influence of a Sunday school teacher, she joined the church at 16. The family with whom she had been reared had always been extremely pious. Church was not entirely disagreeable to her, but her interest in it was forced. Later the church activities became her social life."

Another woman was required as a matter of training to attend Sunday school from the time she was six years old until she was 14. She reports that present-day religion does not fill her need: "No real help is recalled. She expressed her religion in her daily experiences with others, outside of the church." One of the men reports that during his boyhood and up to the time of his marriage he never missed church or Sunday school; he "was active in church socials and the 'boys' brigade' up to the time when he came to America, at 18 years of age. Since his marriage, and because of family interests, he has dropped mid-week services and does not attend much on Sundays." Another says, in giving his estimate of the effect of church activities upon his development, that they satisfied his "social and religious instincts." Another of the women says of her Sundays that they were pleasant, hospitable days that "she always liked. Neighbors came in, and her sisters' young men, and people stayed for supper. As a child she went to church once each Sunday. Her father enjoyed the social side: it was a place in which to meet his friends." This woman had no particularly religious interest; she had joined the church in company with a small group of girls, under the influence of older people, and purely from a social interest; she was conscious of the religious superficiality of her church relation even then. She now goes to church occasionally "sight-seeing."

Testimony of this kind could very easily be reproduced almost indefinitely. What we have given is

sufficient to indicate that the social attraction of the church does play a large part in explaining why these people attended; no claim is made that this recreational incentive was the only motive. The material in our schedules does suggest, however, that not enough attention has been given to analysis of the attraction to church attendance. How large a part the social motive has in this attraction our evidences do not enable us to say. Why should not the pomp and circumstance of the ritual appeal to one's love of action? As Seashore[1] has pointed out, religious ritual—the music, the ceremony, the reading, the preaching, and all the activities of the service—appeals to the same instincts which the theater, the ball game, the party, and the pageant satisfy, as well as to those instincts underlying the motives and sentiments of worship which are primarily the ones that religious activities are meant to satisfy. To some, church activities become more attractive through the addition of these dramatic or active elements, to others they become less so. But in this aspect church activities have this in common with other, merely recreational activities, that they supply social contacts and associations.

Moreover, the recreation which attendance at church services affords is of a kind in many cases which promotes good citizenship. In other words, the church is not only a religious and moral organization, but it is also an agency which provides for the

[1] C. B. Seashore, *Psychology in Daily Life* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1913), chap. ii.

use of spare time in socially interesting and useful ways—a recreational agency. It gives opportunity of forming personal ties of the deepest interest and of great attractiveness to children and youth. Without doubt many a person who has been forced to go to church has thereby found associates who on their own account have yielded him permanently pleasant and valuable companionship; and many an individual has gone to church expressly for the sake of meeting his friends there and thus of finding there a desired opportunity for recreation.

It seems fair, therefore, to conclude that the church is a very important potential factor in the use of spare time for social development. It provides motives not furnished by any other agency, and with these motives it combines opportunity for the association of young people, thus environing these opportunities with high moral influences, both personal and institutional.

From the point of view of this study, therefore, the point at which the church falls short of realizing its opportunity to the full is that at which it forgets that it ministers to the development of wholesome personality, not only through its appeal to the emotions of reverence, fear, and affection, but also through its appeal to the social impulse. It succeeds when it remembers that it may provide opportunity for satisfying the craving for the social relations which make up so much of the normal individual's use of spare time, and that it may provide

this opportunity under circumstances which make for wholesome development.

Changing Community Needs

Let us not be blind, however, to the fact that times are changing.[1] Even since our wholesome people were children great changes in the economic and social life of our cities have taken place. The factory system, the wage system, and the intensive division of labor in our present industrial life take men out of their homes to an ever-increasing degree. The development of social ties through the demands of business and pleasure has made inroads upon the functions of the home and church of our day. While the movement for a shorter work day may give workers more time to spend with their families, it will not equip the more leisured business man or laborer for the important task of so organizing his own and his children's spare time that he may declare his independence of commercial recreations, or provide uses of spare time in his home or in his neighborhood so attractive that he can hold under his influence the children and youth of his household.

Moreover, even had he the power to do this, he is not possessed of the capacity to co-ordinate the occupations of his child's spare time at home with its leisure pursuits at school, at church, and in the shop. Such unco-ordinated home, school, and church interests as filled the leisure life of our people a generation

[1] *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. I.

ago probably would not bring as good results for the children of today.

The day of individualistic, *laissez-faire* methods has gone, in play as in industry, however much we may regret it. The work of the expert in play is superseding isolated home direction, just as the home has been displaced in education by institutional organization. A unified scheme of co-ordinating all the leisure-time impulses of childhood and youth in the great adventure of play must take the place of our present disjointed and haphazard treatment of these precious moments—a scheme that will meet the serious business of so ordering these invaluable psychological opportunities that our children and youth may indeed find in their uses of spare time not demoralizing temptations, but incentives to self-realization and useful social development. It is most earnestly suggested, therefore, that Cleveland consider seriously the importance of supplying, for whatever volunteers may be available among the youth and the adults of home and neighborhood, the trained leadership of specialists in the use of spare time who can work out a plan of co-ordinating home, school, church, and factory with respect to the use of leisure hours.

Summary

1. It is manifest from Diagram 3 that of the 16 definitely discernible influences and motives there are six major influences which affected most of our wholesome people in the formation of their spare-

time habits: (1) the suggestion or inducement of relatives or friends; (2) force of habit, i.e., the carrying over of an activity from one period to the next; (3) the circumstance that facilities were provided at home; (4) the fact that facilities were provided at school; (5) love of the activity; (6) imitation, or being swept into the whirl of a recreational fad. On further analysis it becomes apparent that these six may be reduced by broader generalization to three: (1) the suggestion or influence, conscious or unconscious, of others; (2) the availability of facilities which attracted attention and supplied the challenge of opportunity; (3) love of the activity. That an activity was carried over means that in some previous period one or several of these leading influences had aroused interest in it.

This analysis makes it clear that really only two forces from without have acted upon these individuals in determining their spare-time activities—people and favorable opportunities. These factors determined the initial selection of or inclination to the spare-time activities of early years; the same forces, together with force of habit, determined what spare-time activities were maintained through later life.

Further than this, if these people have analyzed their own histories at all correctly, the influence of other personalities in the formation of their recreational habits stands out as the most prominent fact of this aspect of their lives. So far as our figures show the measure of this influence, children outside of the home exercised the greatest influence; then

in order of decreasing importance come fathers and mothers, children in the home, adults in the home other than parents, and adults outside of the home. Certainly this has significance for the whole recreation movement. People from childhood to adulthood are social beings, especially in their recreations; whether they play at all depends to a large degree on the nature and direction of the stimulation of such other persons as make up their environment.

The vital place occupied in these lives by the factors of personal suggestion and opportune facilities for the use of spare time suggests how important it is that children and youth, in the habit-forming periods of their lives, have as their exemplars people who understand the psychology and sociology of play, who know what uses of spare time are helpful and what activities are wasteful or harmful, and, most of all, who are possessed of fine social spirit themselves.

2. The church in view of these fundamental implications should visualize its sphere as a broader one than the formally religious. The clergy should be educated to recognize its inevitable recreational function, and more emphasis should be laid upon those features of church activities which appeal to its members as opportunities to employ their spare time to their pleasure and profit. The church should not use its facilities for engaging people's spare time merely as a bait to catch, for religious purposes, those whom its social features attract, but should recognize that the use of spare time under the ægis

of the church and in contact with its strong personalities is an end in itself worthy of its most hearty support. Such a service will bear fruit in wholesome lives here and now.

3. Public recreation we must have, because the home and family and the church do not function for all of the spare time of city folk. Moreover, for the child and youth who do not have the right kind of home direction in the use of their leisure, the outside agency is all the more necessary. We must not forget, however, if this study means anything, that the public agency ineffectively manned is likely to be a poor substitute for the right kind of personal influence in the home through the formative years. On the other hand, the best of public supervision for spare-time activities should be supplemented by home guidance. As the school must be supplemented by the home, so the public recreation system will do its best work when it is backed up by a system of home direction of spare-time interests. Will not the public recreation system accomplish most, therefore, if it devotes a part of its time and resources to the development of home recreation? Home and public agency must work together on the spare-time problem. It is evident, however, that the organization of recreation for the city as a whole must rest upon public provision.

CHAPTER IV

SOME REPRESENTATIVE WHOLESOME CITIZENS

A few typical stories chosen from the reports on these 160 wholesome citizens will illustrate what factors were studied as entering into the development of their later personalities.

I

A., 55 years of age at the time of the interview, was reared in a city of 100,000 population in the United Kingdom. His father was a mill laborer. There were three children older, and one younger, than A; there were no adults other than the parents in this household.

According to A.'s testimony his parents contributed nothing to the spare-time interests of his boyhood; he was at home only to eat and sleep; he had no home duties or chores. His spare-time habits were formed in his associations with other boys. Between school hours and the supper hour, and after supper until bedtime, he was in the streets or near-by lots, playing hide-and-seek, spring-and-high-batch, marbles, cricket, and soccer-ball; at school recess he played simple yard games, such as tag, hop-skip-and-jump, marbles, at which he excelled, and various running games. Frequently during the summer he went bird's-nesting, hiking,

and swimming; he never skated much, because the winters were mild where he lived, and he coasted only rarely. As a boy he attended no shows, no parties, and had no tools with which to work about the house.

He counts cricket, which he played a great deal, as the most important game of his school years. In August he usually had a month's vacation from school; much of this he spent swimming in the mill-ponds and keeping out of the way of "cops" and shop foremen; he ran around the streets with boys a great deal of the time, and usually played in matched games of cricket on Saturdays. He finished only the fifth grade in the public school at 11 years of age. The law of the country at that time permitted children to work on the completion of this grade; his family felt the need of his earnings, and so he was sent to work.

At the age of 22 he came to America to better his economic condition. He went to work in a tin mill, for the first seven years as a shiner, and for two years as a riser; then for seven years he fired boilers. For one year after that he worked as a laborer in a Philadelphia foundry and sewing-machine factory; for two years he worked as a fireman, and for the next seven as a laborer and section foreman in a hardware company.

In these years he was naturalized as a citizen of this country. He married at the age of 27, and has reared a family of three children.

For two years he served as a member of the Ohio state legislature, and between sessions was employed in the public service department of the city of Cleveland. He tried to write insurance for one year, but gave it up as a bad job. Since 1913, he has been division superintendent of a large hardware company. Up to 1893 he never earned more

than $2.00 a day; his salary now is probably somewhere between $1,000 and $2,000 a year.

He has had no religious experience, in spite of the fact that after his marriage he was confirmed and joined the Episcopal church. He had not attended church in his boyhood because he lacked good clothes; his father had had no interest in religion, and his mother had attended the Congregational church at rare intervals. He left the church he had joined in his manhood when a missionary preached there on the necessity of going to confession. He is not opposed to religious activities, but has never become interested in them; the place of the church in his life is filled by the Masonic lodge, from which he testifies that he receives invaluable spiritual benefit.

A.'s recreational life early took a social and athletic trend; the two fields in which his aptitudes made him conspicuous are most often overlapping and interactive. It is of interest to note that as a lad he was picked by the older boys, because of his fleetness of foot, to play soccer, cricket, and other games. At the age of 19 he ran a hundred-yard footrace against a speedy runner of a rival team, and won the race and $50.00 as a side bet. As a boy worker in his native country, he spent every Saturday evening with soccer and cricket players in a downtown saloon, where they played cards and spent the time together in a social way. He never drank, however.

In his shop life in America he seems to have been a leader among the men. He played baseball at the noon hour in a Cleveland factory for 10 years, besides playing every Saturday afternoon with the shop team; once or twice a year he has managed a shop smoker. For over 15 years he has bowled once a week with a club, and practiced one or two nights.

He was president of a large Cleveland bowling association for seven years. Because of his training in cricket and his native tendency to leadership, he has also been active in cricket games for 10 years or more, and has played in match games, as a member of the Cleveland team, in many cities of the United States and Canada.

In his early working years also he became fond of reading newspapers; he has always been "a great talker," much given to discussing the events of the day. When he first came to America he spent five or six evenings a week reading and talking with other immigrants at his boarding-place. He took short walks in the street, went to a theater about once a week, and for two or three years attended Salvation Army meetings on Sunday; his interest in the meetings rested on the amusement that he got out of them.

In the first year after his marriage he spent his evenings at home or calling on friends. He read the newspapers a great deal, and names conversation with his wife and friends as his chief activity at home. In later years he has spent, on an average, only one or two evenings a week at home. He has been very active in lodge work, having been a member of the Maccabees for 18 years, and attended lodge meetings one evening in two weeks for about 14 years. For eight years he has been a member of the Masonic lodge, and attended its weekly meetings.

During the political campaigns between 1908 and 1913 he went out every evening for six weeks. Once a week he goes with his wife and family to the theater. His vacations have been few and have lasted usually not over a week; they have usually been spent in visiting and talking with friends. He has taken one trip to Niagara Falls, and one to Detroit; during

the past two years, he has spent two weeks of each summer with his family at one of the Ohio lakes.

From this brief survey, it is apparent that the subject of this interview has always been a forceful person. His activity and skill made him a leader in such work as he undertook; he fell among good associates in the country of his adoption, and attained to leadership in sport and in political life, and after a time in his vocational life, among those with whom he associated; his marriage also was a factor that made for wholesome development.

Outstanding in all this history, however, are the associations which he formed in his recreations. His adeptness at field games got him into the right kind of associations as a boy; his outdoor interests were the key to the companionships of his early manhood in a new country; and in spite of the fact that some of the pastimes of his early life were sought in saloons, he was not corrupted by the evil influences that are often bound up with such contacts. Side by side with these interests his predilection for conversing with people, noticeable throughout his life, has evidently increased as the years have gone by, and given him touch with the larger affairs and more important interests of life.

II

B. was born in Cleveland and lived for 20 years in the heart of the city, in a house surrounded by a large yard and garden; her father was Irish, her mother Scotch-Canadian; both parents were Catho-

lics. Her father was engaged in mechanical shop work.

B. attended parochial schools and completed the eight grades; after that she attended a business college for two or three years, and then worked for three years as a bookkeeper and stenographer.

The recreational activities of her childhood and elementary school years seem to have been largely home-directed. Her parents were strict about her going out and never permitted her to go camping, or to attend dances or shows. She was never required to do many things about the house, but loved to help her mother from time to time in household duties. Her father and mother read a great deal, and this interest in her home had its influence upon her. She read a great deal for a number of years, drawing books from the city library. She reports that she read continually up to the time of her marriage. Her reading was chiefly non-fiction. At home her main interests, however, were sewing and embroidering. During her earlier school years, her mother had a dressmaking establishment in the home, and through this B. became interested in sewing. During these years also she took piano lessons at home for over two years, practicing daily.

At school she was hardly ever active in games; she recalls standing around and watching others play more often than playing herself. She never skated nor danced nor went to the theater, and rarely attended picnics or parties. Her vacations were always spent at home; there were no trips to farm or camp. But she sang a great deal at school entertainments, and found an important social interest in the children's choir in her church. During these years of her girlhood the church occupied a very large place in her life. During special seasons she would attend church every night in the week;

she was confirmed at 12 years of age, and has been a good church woman all her life. Her husband is a Protestant.

B. married at the age of 20, and has brought up three children; all of them are now grown, and one is married. After her marriage, until her family grew up, her daily work was the keeping of the house and caring joyfully for her children. Most of her spare time was given to sewing and embroidering and reading, and to an occasional home gathering with friends. A garden occupied some of her attention for a number of years.

Among her present interests—she is now 45—reading and sewing have been carried over from a former period. Her club activities have grown out of the latter avocation, most of the organizations to which she belongs being sewing clubs. During the last few years she has been president of a neighborhood mothers' club; for 10 years she was a member of a Catholic fraternal order, of which she was president for two or three years; many other Catholic societies engage her spare-time interest. On these clubs she now spends one or two hours a day, and two evenings a week.

Since her marriage also she has traveled to some extent, her vacations taking her to Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Chicago, Detroit, Port Huron, and many eastern cities.

Out of this story emerges the record of important determinants of character. The home influences seem to have been not the least important; next to these perhaps has been the influence of the church. The spare-time pursuits in this case have been rather inactive ones, in both childhood and adolescence; yet this life, characterized as it is by lack of outdoor

activities, seems to have been rich in associations that were wholesome in their influence.

III

C., born in Germany, came to America at the age of 10. Her father had died when she was a year and a half old. Even in Germany her mother was employed part of the time in housework outside of her own home; in America she worked in a garment factory by day and cared for her children at night. In spite of her busy life, she found time to read to them, tell them stories, sing with them, walk with them, and take them to the parks on Sundays; she stimulated in them a desire to go to school, though she learned to speak but very little English herself. In her discipline of her family, this mother is described as "not especially strict, but we knew what we had to do and we did it." In the German home, a grandfather, an uncle, his wife, and two children had lived with C.'s family; and when they came to the United States, the family lived for six months with an aunt and her six children.

C. did not finish the seventh grade in school. Her mother was taken ill, and she had to stay at home to care for her and for the house. After her mother had recovered C. started to work. From her fourteenth to her eighteenth year she worked as a house-servant, her wages varying from $1.50 to $5.00 a week. After this four-year service she was ill for a year; she stayed during this time with the family for whom her mother worked, assisting in the housework to pay for her board. She is now 20 years of age; she has heart trouble and cannot do strenuous work, nor take an active part in play or exercise. During the last year she has been doing hand sewing in a garment factory in Cleveland, where she earns

from $11.00 to $12.00 a week; she feels that her work is not mechanical and is very much interested in it.

The activities which C. ascribes to her childhood in Germany are varied and significant. To occupy her spare time she had some home duties, such as helping with work in the fields. Her mother taught her knitting, but she showed no great interest in it; her mother also taught her to sew and to make quilt blocks. At 12 she learned to crochet; in this she took a great deal of interest. Her interest in sewing was further stimulated when she was sent to a sewing class in which she often made some of her own clothes.

She read a great deal, and the children of the neighborhood often gathered in her home in the evenings and played games and sang. Several times the family went to a large city to visit and to shop; frequently they attended harvest festivals in the near-by towns. Once or twice a year they went to the theater in neighboring towns. C. was often a member of parties composed of children and older people who went on excursions to the woods. The river also was a frequent place of resort; there C. watched the sheep-shearers washing their sheep, watched the mill-wheel, and frequently went in bathing. The great events that stand out in her childhood memories are christenings and dedication ceremonies connected with the building of a new house or barn—ceremonies that were universal in the region of her home.

In her new home in the United States C. maintained a lively interest in games and in play with the children of the neighborhood. She played in a neighbor's yard most of the time, because the landlord did not want her to play in the yard in which she lived; only once or twice did she visit a public playground.

At school there was coasting, but, because she was afraid, the only part she took was watching others. The usual school-yard games were a part of her spare-time activities at school: among these were hide-and-seek, London Bridge, tag, hop-scotch, etc. She attended Sunday school picnics and birthday parties once or twice a year; during vacations, at various times, she spent a week with friends in the country. In the spare-time pursuits of her school years her mother and the children of the neighborhood seem to have been the most important influences; some of her teachers, however, and a neighbor also played a part in the shaping of her habits.

After she left school her spare-time activities were very much reduced. During her four years of housework she had one half-day during the week and Sunday afternoons free; she usually spent this time at her home. In the home in which she worked she played with the children in spare moments, did some crocheting, and read a great deal. Her reading, which occupies a very prominent place in her spare-time interests, comprised chiefly girls' stories. For a short time she took piano lessons; she also took some vocal lessons, and a few lessons in china-painting.

C. was brought up in the Lutheran faith, but at the age of 13 joined the United Brethren church. In Germany she had gone to church only occasionally, because the church was an hour's walk from home. At present she attends services every Sunday, has had a Sunday school class until recently, and has been an active member of the young people's society. These interests have been established in her life since she was about 15. From all the evidence she supplies, though her employer and her mother and sister had a great deal to do with

interesting her in church and theater, it was association with young people that most drew her, at least in the case of church activities; in the church and its auxiliaries, she found associations that were pleasant and helpful. In explaining her interest in reading, she says that she could never take an active part in play and therefore found a companionship in books. In the social affairs of the church and in the young people's work she has found further outlet for her desire for companionship, and these associations have contributed to her development. She thinks that they have also helped her to overcome a certain diffidence of nature.

This story of a factory girl presents a history different in kind from those which have preceded it. Outstanding in this case are the following influences: a good home but poor; a mother interested in her children's welfare; associations with other children that were free from vicious influences; work with people who took an interest in their employees; interest in reading for the sake of intimate companionship; and associations in church activities that have thrown about the individual influences that were constructive.

IV

D. was born and has lived all his life in Cleveland; he is 23 years old and unmarried. His parents were Jews, born in Austria-Hungary; the father died when D. was three weeks old. The family was always in straitened circumstances; the father had been the outside contractor of a tailor shop, and the mother worked in a clothing factory; there were two sisters older than D. At the age of six the boy was sent to a Jewish orphanage, and re-

mained there until he was 15. At that age he returned to his mother, with whom he still makes his home. As soon as he was old enough, he started to work as a stock boy in a shirt-waist factory, then was employed for a short time in a brass foundry at $3.00 a week, and later worked one year as press boy in a printing shop, earning from $4.00 to $10.00 a week. From his sixteenth to his seventeenth year he worked as errand boy in a large establishment in Cleveland in which he is still employed. He was then advanced to the position of tracer in the office of the general manager and kept the manager's records. For the last three years he has been chief clerk and assistant head in the planning department of this company, with a salary of about $1,000 a year.

Up to the time when he was sent to the orphanage his spare time was unsupervised. He says that during those years he became "a little tough"; he played in the railroad yards near his house, and got into many fights in which he received wounds the scars of which he still carries; his home was in a poorer district, and there were no home activities.

At the orphan asylum the ordinary yard games were played at the school recess periods, and he was required to attend gym classes once a week. He had no swimming, no skating, no matched games, and no vacations. During those years he was not allowed to be away from the asylum. He often played checkers in bed and on stormy days. Frequently he begged for work to do in the house, to keep him busy.

He says that practically all of his spare-time habits were formed through the guidance and associations of the asylum. His spare time was pretty well supervised: he was required to study an hour after supper, and went to bed at half-past seven;

however, the discipline of the institution was a challenge to him which he met by slipping out of bed nights, sneaking into the attic, and talking and playing cards with the other boys. Occasionally he took part in entertainments in the school and attended entertainments in the institution given by outside people. Two or three times a year the inmates of the institution were taken on outings; he attended theater about once a year, when some philanthropist provided tickets.

Throughout his stay there he was in the "Little Boys' Club," which met once a week; toward the end of his orphanage years he became a member of a literary club. He became greatly interested in reading, and because of this bookishness was dubbed "Professor." He read his first book, *Black Beauty*, when he was in the first grade. He read all the books of Henty and Alger, and was a constant reader of the *Scientific American* and *Popular Mechanics*.

His calendar of spare-time activities from the time he left the orphanage up to the present shows a methodical program of work and play, and his account of the origin and the effect of these pursuits upon his development is proof of his discernment and good judgment.

For four years, from the time he was 16 until he was 20, he attended night school, graduating from the regular course in two and one-half years. He had previously tried to study Latin and algebra, but had not made much progress. When he entered the night school, he told the teacher that he had been out of school for a while and was rusty on Latin and algebra, and asked that he be permitted therefore to start in the second year; this was granted, and, in spite of the fact that he did not do well the first few weeks, hard study outside of school carried him through abreast of the regular

second-year students. To this work he devoted two nights a week the first two years, and four nights each week of the last two years. He took it up because he realized after he went to work that he would have to have a better education to get along in business.

He spends about three evenings a week now reading and studying at home, and usually one evening entertaining friends. About two evenings a week he goes to the homes of boy friends, to talk, play cards and checkers, and discuss the issues of the day; he says that he "frequently takes the wrong side of a question, if that is the way to start an argument." His reading, he says, has enabled him to keep informed on current events, and has furnished him with ammunition in discussions at clubs and on hikes with young men. Card-playing, which he learned as a boy from the other boys at the orphanage, he counts as of no influence in his life, but as merely a pastime.

He used to go to shows about once a month; for the last three years he has gone once or twice a week. This habit had its beginning in his feeling that he "had to have some form of amusement"; when he had money, he would attend a show. As a present pursuit it is still a form of diversion and helps to keep him informed.

For the last six summers he has played baseball at noons on the shop ground; after work he often goes to a park to swim. He joined the Y.M.C.A. for two summers because it offered special rates for evening swimming classes, and for two years more attended throughout the year, chiefly because of the opportunity afforded there for gym work, basketball, and swimming. He has never played pool or tennis, nor taken any part in athletics aside from these class and shop activities.

For three years he has attended about six professional baseball games each year, and formerly about two a season. During vacations, of which he has had three of one week each, he has read and attended shows and ball games. On holidays and Saturday afternoons he usually goes on long hikes into the country. These walks in the summer-time take the place of skating in the winter, to which he has for the past four years in season devoted Sunday mornings and Saturday afternoons. He learned both to swim and to skate as a child, before he went to the orphanage, and all these outdoor and athletic interests, as pursuits of his later life, especially through the contacts of the Y.M.C.A., have afforded him both beneficial exercise and companionship.

About a year ago, at the insistence of his sisters and in order to keep up with the young fellows with whom he associates, he took dancing lessons, and since then has attended about two dances a month. This activity has been helpful to him, he says, because it made him less backward, and afforded both an additional source of amusement and the means of making new acquaintances; it led, for instance, to his serving each year on dance committees at the shop.

At the shop he served also for a year as editor of the employees' newspaper, assuming the work at the inducement of a friend who had formerly been editor. The experience improved his English vocabulary, brought him into contact with the heads of departments in the factory, and developed his analytical powers. For the past two years he has been leader of a boys' club at the orphanage of which he was once an inmate—an activity which he took up at the invitation of the superintendent of the asylum. The club meets once a week.

For three winters he has been a member of a social, athletic, and literary club, which meets twice a week at a social settlement in the immigrant Jewish neighborhood of the city; he joined this at the invitation of friends. The literary side of the club activities has given him opportunities for self-expression and for rendering service, and in the social activities he has found experience in arranging programs, and opportunities of conversation, of studying the tastes of different people, and of analyzing human nature. For some time he has been a member of the *B'nai B'rith;* he has no other lodge affiliations.

His attitude toward matters of religion seems to have been neutral as a factor in the shaping of his adult life. At the orphanage he was required to attend all religious services, and religious teaching was a part of the regular curriculum. After he left the orphanage, he came to the beginning of a period of doubt concerning the theology of the Jewish religion; he is still unsettled in his theological convictions. He says that he is interested only in sermons, and not in religion of itself. He attends services at the Reform Jewish synagogue about 12 times a year.

To the orphan asylum, among the influences which have played a vital part in his growth, he ascribes the credit of saving him from "going bad" in the railroad yards of his childhood play life. He adds, however, that after he left the orphanage, he experienced "great temptation to go bad and see a great many things I did not know of during that period." D.'s mother, in spite of the fact that she was so busily occupied, exercised a great deal of care over the spare time of her boy, keeping him from running around nights, and talking to him very carefully on matters of personal and sex hygiene.

He testifies that her influence was very helpful to him. D. himself thinks that none of his spare-time activities have been harmful because he does not allow himself "to go to excess or permit activities to be harmful."

On the whole this life shows, so far as our schedule reveals it, a wholesome balance of work and healthful spare-time activities.

V

E. was born and reared in Cleveland. Her parents had been naturalized and could speak English, but used their native Bohemian as the language of their household. The father was a rather lazy, incompetent person who lost his money through bad business management and then went to work for his brother, earning but very little; the mother had to go out to work to earn a living for the family. E. describes her mother as a neat, hard-working woman who had but little time for her children. Her absence from the home seems to have been very keenly felt; E. says that of the family "everyone went his own ways and nobody helped anybody else." In her childhood the girl had few close family ties; she was self-conscious and lonesome, and received very little help from her mother, because when the latter came home she was so tired that she often sent her daughter outdoors so that the little girl should not talk to her. E. describes herself as always feeling old as a girl, and always liking older people; she never felt as happy with other girls as she did with grown-up persons.

She attended the public schools for 10 years, making eight grades in that time. She liked reading and grammar, "hated" mathematics, and "hated"

some of her teachers; she felt old and out of place among the girls of her class.

E.'s story of the spare-time pursuits of her childhood is weighted with the remembrance of unjoyous work which isolated her from other children, and aged her and estranged her from play. A good deal of the housework and the care of two younger brothers were left to her. She always had to have supper ready when her mother came home. She learned to crochet and to do mending, but she still does not like to sew or wash. On the way home from school she used to do the family shopping. Her mother gave her a penny a day to spend at school; with this she bought chocolate fudge every day at recess. She played a good deal in the street; she gives the impression that her two older brothers were not companionable, and that the home circle was not very happy. She had no girl chums, never took hikes, and never learned to skate.

A settlement house in this city seems to have been the one bright star in her firmament during her childhood. She says of herself that she "drifted to B—— House," where she took root, and met and loved many of the teachers and workers of the institution. Evidently these associations filled a great void in the young girl's life; the friends that she made in this period are still her best and dearest ones. She took part in almost all the settlement activities for children. Her vacations were spent at the settlement camp.

During her last three years at grammar school she worked as a nursemaid after school hours; she earned from $1.50 to $2.00 a week. After she graduated from the elementary school she went to high school for one year, working at the same time as nursemaid in the same family in which she had previously been employed. One year she also served

as a cook. She had taken a few domestic science courses at the settlement, but the work with children constituted her only vocational experience. She loves children, and enjoyed her work very much. One year she had entire charge of the children while their mother was away for her health. She never earned more than $5.00 a week.

After leaving school she spent very little time at home, but her connections with the settlement were still kept up. There she came to have a class in cooking—a class of Bohemian girls. She loved to work with the children there, liked to cook fancy things, to go for "nice walks," and to read. She was fond of picnics in the glens at the settlement camp, took walks with the young people connected with the settlement, and went with them to dances and to picnics; she liked visiting and having company.

As already indicated, her work and her spare time were so inextricably bound together and both were so closely connected with people who were interested in her and whom she loved, that to her all her activities were recreational.

She left her position to marry a man much older than herself. Since her marriage, which was the outcome of a romance that began at the settlement, she has devoted herself to her family and to her friends, whom she loves to have in for company. She has a little girl who is six years old and a baby boy of about two. She still keeps up her relations with B—— House, and with the friends that she made there. She helps her husband with the gardening when she has time; she now has a victrola in her home, which conduces to her pleasure. She takes the baby to the park or sometimes to visit friends; occasionally she goes to moving-picture shows, and attends a few concerts and the opera.

She and her husband frequently visit the settlement or go to the settlement camp.

So far as religious influences are concerned, E. took no part in church life until about six months before she was interviewed, when she had begun taking an interest in Christian Science. She describes herself as never religious, adding that her parents are not—they are free-thinkers, and never went to any church—nor is her husband. She attends a Christian Science church now on Sunday mornings, and reads the literature, but finds it dry and difficult to understand; she feels, however, that this new interest has helped her by keeping her from being discontented and from worrying about the baby.

This story illustrates the case of a person who has become a wholesome individual in spite of untoward circumstances in early years. The friendships of this woman's life stand out as the predominant influences of her development, and the agency in the formation of those friendships has been B—— House. Obviously, the influence of the people there turned the whole current of her life, supplied the recreation that she needed, and provided friendships that fostered in her all the aspirations she had ever known. She says that there she learned the things that have been the most interesting part of her life; when asked what her preferences in spare-time activities were in the period in which she first came into these relationships, she replied, "B—— House, and Mrs. H——'s children."

VI

F. was born in Cleveland 29 years ago, and has always lived in the heart of the city. His parents

are Hungarian Jews who became citizens of this country. He has two older brothers and two sisters younger than himself. His father owns a small grocery store. F. describes his people as being very gentle, of a type who "never got into a fuss but always made it a point to get along with people"; this quality in his parents, he says, influenced him greatly.

F. attended the public schools, going almost through high school. A 13 weeks' illness in the last year prevented him from graduating; his parents could not afford to send him longer and therefore at 18 he went to work.

For six months he drove a wagon for a cigar factory, earning $6.00 a week. For three and a half years he was bookkeeper in a large business house in Cleveland; then he was made head of the return department, and eventually became head of the order department; today he is earning about $2,000 a year. He was married at 26, but kept his marriage a secret for two years, seemingly because he married a non-Jewish girl. He has no children.

F.'s spare-time activities at home during his grammar school years reveal a great fondness for reading; sometimes he drew and read as many as four library books a week. Among other things he read also some dime novels which he came by surreptitiously and read upon the roof of the house; he used to hide them in the chimney, but one autumn his father was forced to clean the chimney, and found this "yellow" library. He undertook to whip his son, and found several more of these books in the boy's trousers.

In these years he tried to take violin lessons, but found that he had no talent. He played house games with his elder brother, and occasionally worked around his father's store and ran errands.

At the age of 12 he started to peddle papers, and continued to do so through the rest of his school years.

At school he was active in the yard games, and in out-of-school hours in pleasant weather he played ball daily in the streets and alleys. In winter he skated and coasted a great deal. He never learned to swim, did not attend shows, was not a member of boys' clubs, but went to one or two entertainments a year at the synagogue. His vacations were all spent with the boys in the neighborhood; he had no outings.

F. is one of the few persons among our selected cases who in boyhood were members of gangs. He describes himself as running around the neighborhood with a bunch of boys, playing tricks, and getting into mischief; one of their pursuits was despoiling nut trees in the yards along Euclid Avenue.

Practically all of the spare-time activities of F.'s after-school years originated in the example or suggestions of his friends. He spent very little time at home; at his place of work he played baseball at noon; he has been manager of a shop ball team for two years. Each year he has attended one or two shop parties and picnics, gone to two or three shows a week, and for five years has gone to dances twice a week.

A Jewish neighborhood house in this city seems to have offered him opportunities for employing his spare time and meeting people. For the first three years after leaving school he was a member of a literary club at this house; after that he joined a social club of girls and boys which met once a week in the homes of the members for a party. In his vacations for 10 years he has camped for three months of each summer with vacation groups of boys organized by the Hebrew Relief Association,

working at the shop in the city in the daytime. His dancing, his attendance upon shows, and his social club and summer camp activities were all suggested by friends; his devotion to baseball has been carried over from his childhood pursuits.

Since his marriage he has spent his evenings with his wife, played baseball once or twice a week at the shop, and gone to shop parties two or three times each year; he goes to two or three shows a week, attends dances two or three times a year, plays handball about three times a year, and bowls about once a week. He has read considerably, and each summer has given time in the same manner to the boys' camp.

F. says that he "never did take a lot of interest in religion." As a child he attended a Reform Jewish synagogue, but when his parents moved away three years ago he dropped church-going. He says that he is not a free-thinker, but has no fixed opinions about religion; he has simply lost interest in it.

This man thinks that all of his spare-time activities have been either helpful or merely time-consuming. He is a man who seems to enjoy his work; he is methodical, and has a fairly well-balanced program of work and recreation. He is interested in other people, as is shown by his many contacts outside of his office work, and by his interest in the boys' camp. The outstanding factors in the formation of his habits have been his associations with boyhood friends, and the social connections he has made in business and club life. The features of his story are in general typical.

G., who was 27 when the following review of his life was secured, was born in a city of New York; in his boyhood he moved with his parents to Oregon and lived on a small farm near one of the cities of that state. His parents were both native-born and belonged to the Methodist church, of which the father was a minister. There were two older brothers, and one younger sister; both grandmother and grandfather lived in his parents' home until he was 10 years old.

G. finished the sixth grade in the public schools, and for the seventh and eighth grades went to a private school; he took three years' work in high school, graduating at the age of 15. He graduated from college at 19.

His vocational history shows a great diversity of occupations. From the time he was 10 years of age he always spent his summers working: he picked fruit on the fruit farms of Oregon and sold the product of his parents' own farm; his earnings were from $50.00 to $100 per season at this time. Later for three summers he worked in logging camps, earning from $1.50 to $3.00 per day. At the time of the Lewis and Clark Exposition he worked one summer with Beachy, an aviator who was killed some two years ago, on his aeroplanes and captive baloons; the next summer he worked 11 hours a night in a sawmill for a part of the season, and the rest of the time in a clay factory, making brick and sewer tile; the two following summers he worked on farms at ordinary farm work. At the close of his college course he accepted a position with the association of charities in a large city; he held this place for five years, working in all the positions in the office of the organization. For one year he was secretary of a municipal department in one city,

and then was head of a bureau in the same city; the year of this study he was director of the employment and service department of one of the large manufacturing concerns of Cleveland.

The spare time of G.'s boyhood seems to have been very barren of recreation. He was required to work excessively on the farm, and says that his responsibilities about the farm duties were so great that they have killed his interest in garden activities ever since. He played a few home games, such as ping-pong and table croquet. His parents did not encourage play; what few play interests he had were maintained in spite of them. To this day he finds himself without interests in common with his parents.

He had considerable interest in manual and mechanical work, and built many such things as bird houses, chute-the-chutes, and toys. He rode horseback, going after the cows and driving the cattle to and from the mountains, but never liked it. He says that most of his fun during this period was spoiled by the fact that he had to work when other boys were "killing snakes."

At school he played the ordinary school games. After school he had very few opportunities to play with other children; sometimes he would go swimming, when he could manage to run away from home to do it. He never learned to skate, did not play baseball nor football, and did not attend shows. His vacations were spent in work—there were always fruit trees, a garden, a hayfield, chickens, cows, and horses to be taken care of.

Occasional house parties were held in his home; these were made up chiefly of the members of the "Junior League" and of the Sunday school classes. He always attended church entertainments and picnics, and occasionally mid-week prayer meetings.

At high school and later in college certain qualities of leadership revealed themselves in his activities. At high school he played on the school basket-ball team for two years, and was active on the track team. He became a member of the city Y.M.C.A., which he attended for gym work and swimming three or four times a week, played on the Y.M.C.A. basket-ball team for several years, and took many trips to play match games. He attended class parties several times in the winter, and was a member of a literary society. He learned to play the cornet, played in the Sunday school orchestra, and was active in the young people's society of the church.

At college he played basket-ball for two years, was on the track team, played handball and indoor baseball, and occasionally engaged in swimming. He played in the college band for two years, sang in the church choir for three years, and was an officer of the student council for two years. He was president of his class in his Junior year, was college cheer leader in all athletic games during his Senior year, was a member of a college fraternity, of a college literary society, and of the Y.M.C.A. He did a great deal of committee work in connection with the latter and for one year taught in the Y.M.C.A. night school in the college town, his pupils being chiefly foreigners. He taught a Sunday school class for one year, and had charge of a boys' camp for two weeks.

Apparently his awakening to what has become the principal interest, both vocational and avocational, of his present life, came during his last year at college, when he heard some speaker talk on the opportunities in the field of social service. Since then his spare-time activities have been made up largely of experiences in social exploration. He spent many of his evenings becoming familiar with

downtown lodging-houses and their inmates, with jails, etc., and for several months lived in cheap rooming-houses in order to see the life at first hand. He lived at a settlement for a part of the time, led a boys' settlement club and basket-ball team for a year, playing a great deal himself at basket-ball and indoor baseball; he also learned to play pool and billiards and many other games with the residents and the boys at the settlement. He learned to play tennis one summer, but it has not become a leading pursuit with him. His week-ends during three years were spent in the country near a lake, at the cottage of his fiancée's parents.

He was married at 21. Since his marriage he has spent, on an average, three evenings a week at home, entertaining friends, playing musical instruments, reading in connection with his work, and playing with the children. His daughter is now five years old and his son three. Usually one night a week is given to attendance at the theater with his wife, or calling on friends. Up to 1916, he gave two evenings a week to committee meetings. He was called upon to make a great many speeches, was secretary of a Sunday school for two years, taught a class on community problems for two years, led a basket-ball team at his church for one winter, and for several years played pool at noon at a city club. For a year and a half he was a member of the political club of the ward in which he lived. He has no golf, tennis, or baseball interests.

In religion he describes himself as having had no definite experience, though he has been a church member as long as he can remember. As a boy, and during his high school and early college years, he attended church regularly, frequently as many as five times on a Sunday, and, as has been shown, has

a record of varied participation in the social phases of church life.

One gets the impression that the spare-time activities of this man's boyhood were not of very great potency—unless it be negatively—in the formation of his permanent spare-time habits. It is easy to see how the active spirit chafed under the monotonous, humdrum work of his boyhood. Yet the training of these earlier years may have had much to do with his later ideal of service. High school and college gave opportunity for expression of his active constructive passion. In the relationships formed there he found opportunity for action and leadership; and initiation into social problems during his college life prepared him for the man who spoke on social service at a critical time in his career. The contacts of life, in both his business and professional experiences, and in his recreation, made him appreciate the value of disinterested service for his community.

Through these various spare-time activities, G. feels he has developed self-confidence and ability to get along with people, and a democratic attitude; in these interests he finds his relaxation from the strain of the day's business, and that broadening and mellowing of personality which come from relationships with many kinds of people.

VIII

H., who is a library worker in Cleveland, comes of an American family and was born in an inland small

town in Ohio, in or near which she lived until she was 15. A grandfather and grandmother lived with the family during H.'s childhood. Her father's work as a mechanical engineer took him away from home much of the time; yet his personality was a vivid influence in her childhood life. Her father was lively, talkative, and fond of answering her questions, and could tell colorful stories of his traveled and adventurous life; when he came home he would tell her "all about everything." At home he had a work bench at which he was always experimenting, and H. remembers as a little child sitting and working at one end of it.

While her grandfather was in the home she was with him a great deal, mostly out of doors. She remembers planting corn, dropping seeds, and riding on the hay. She has vivid recollections of people coming to the house to talk to her father and grandfather, and of debates held around the fireplace. Her great-grandfather had been a school teacher and free-thinker. H. was accustomed to hearing her father prayed for occasionally in the village—and also to having men come in to talk to him and hear his views on "things." She remembers her mother reading religious books at one side of the fireplace, while her father "free-thought" at the other side.

Her mother encouraged her to read, and an aunt used to send her books for girls and what was then considered proper juvenile reading-matter. She herself held reading, however, to be somewhat a waste of time. Her inclinations were conversational; and it may be said of her that her childhood fondness for experience and work through the medium or against the background of "talk" has become the spring of all the work and play interests of her mature life; ideas "through people,"

personalities, and "experiences for their own sake," are her passion.

She always had a playhouse and dolls of all kinds. She was allowed to do a great deal as she pleased, owing to the fact that she was considered frail, and that she was the only child in large groups of grown-up people. Her great delight was to go on excursions alone to the post-office, bring back *Harper's* magazine and the *Mechanic*, spread them out on the floor, and crawl about exploring them.

In her early years she was borrowed a great deal and kept for afternoons and days at a time by the "nabobs" of the village, the New York owners of the works where her father was superintendent. As soon as she was old enough she became the audience for "Mrs. Nabob's" accounts of "high life" in New York, Newport, etc. She carried out the suggestions of this talk in her play, with arrangements of chairs for Newport. Occasionally she was left with her negro nurse, but as soon as she was old enough she was taken driving in great style in the barouche of this aristocrat. Her reward for being good was to be allowed to play with the diamonds which "Mrs. Nabob" wore in a little sack around her neck, and to choose which ones were to be willed to her. There were only a few people in the village "high class" enough for these people to associate with. This child grew up at first in this extremely rare and consciously superior atmosphere. Her mother was a Virginian by birth and did not associate much with the "native village"; she died when H. was 16.

Later she learned of life beyond Newport through the minds of the children she met at school. They were very poor but of an eager and vivid vintage. The town was a mining town and its population was drawn from the length and breadth of Europe.

Recently come over from England and other countries, these playmates gave her colorful gossip of the Prince of Wales, of the English and Irish situation, and of their former backgrounds; she "traveled through their minds." This tendency to acquire knowledge of other places and other things than the commonplace has followed her through life. She came to know all sorts of human types; knowledge of social and economic questions, of the problems of labor especially, became a part of her childish education through her early impressions of the strikes in the "works," in which her father was always the mediator.

Her childhood spare-time activities at home included a few slight household duties, some more or less desultory practice in music, and a little sewing as a "respectable necessity" in training rather than a chosen spare-time occupation. There was school work in the evenings, some reading, and "talking."

The family drove because the country was attractive and her father always kept his own horses, of which he was very fond. Outside of her home there were occasional parties and entertainments, walks and tramps, and skating and sleighing in the winter. H. went to Sunday school and did what the other children did, as a matter of course. Her childhood recreations did not include clubs nor athletics.

Each summer, from her earliest years, she was sent on a month's visit to her mother's family in Virginia. Here there were three sets of cousins, a few bachelor uncles, and grandparents. "There was also a river." They played croquet, explored the river, and kept general oversight of the activities of the community. People beyond the age of 20 were considered of little account in this circle of cousins. The "élite" of from 16 to 20 occupied much of their attention. H. remembers an active

social life during these summer visits, centering about parties in which they actually participated and parties in which they took part only in spirit. What other people did, especially the young ladies who had beaux, was of weighty importance. The children met as voluntary committees to oversee these things and to discuss them in long sessions of swinging and debate.

At school she played "bird," ball, and the usual games. She walked the village streets at noon, and always came home as slowly as possible by the longest way, which took in the brook. The brook belonged to the school children; they "kept it going," and watched its seasonal variations. She was intensely interested in everything she saw, heard, could find out, or imagine, especially in connection with "people's doings"; she knew everything and everybody's business in the town.

H. went through the public schools in her home town, graduating from the high school at 17. During this time she had music lessons for about two years, and special lessons in German for one year. She had a year of business college work after that, for one year attended a private preparatory school, and graduated at 21 from an Ohio college. Some years later she studied history of art and painting abroad, and afterward completed a four-year course at the local school of art.

During her college years she lived with the daughter of the president of the college, taking the place of another daughter in their home. In the absence of the mother, the spare time of the two girls was taken up with the social duties of a charming and hospitable household. This was the most valuable part of her college life as she sees it now; she lived in an atmosphere of gracious culture and refinement; and people of distinction and interest passed continually through

their doors. At the same time she was reading German philosophy and liberal writings, under the inspiration and supervision of two young men, one of whom had been dropped from the college staff of instructors because he was considered too radical. With one of these friends she used to tramp across the hills at the end of her college day, and during vacations she remained in the college town for a part of the time to renew with them these outdoor and intellectual pursuits. Part of her vacation also was spent at the home of her mother's family.

The influences which molded the spare-time habits of H. into the forms they took through these years were the customs of the town life and the resources of the place—or the limitations of these—her intellectual associations, and the social associations of her life in the home of the college president.

Her introduction to European culture and to people with a passion for such things as music and art came through a friend whom she calls the "*Herr Professor*," whom she met socially at first, and who taught her German poetry and later gave her instruction in German. This, she says, gave her a "new sense of values"; it was her first contact with a culture which much later she entered into again in Europe, and in the society of traveled people whom she met.

For a year and a half in the interim between the completion of her college course and her studies abroad, H. had an interesting work experience, serving as secretary to the widow of a former state official; in actuality she took the place of a daughter to her employer, who was conducting a private hotel in San Francisco. H.'s work took up only three or four hours a day; she received a small salary and maintenance. In this year she led an interesting, colorful life in the most cosmopolitan part of San

Francisco, in the midst of a cultivated and exclusive little circle of people. She plunged eagerly into the varied life which her personal associations and the city itself offered her. She went much into the Chinese quarter, spent much time on oriental art, and in seeing and experiencing all there was to see and do, tasting especially the exotic and oriental flavors that the coast city had to offer. Through these pursuits, and through the friendship of a man who had been in India, she developed a keen interest in the oriental in art and in life.

The year after this she returned home to keep house for her father and brother. During this time she served as a teacher of English history and Latin in the high school of her home town. Her salary was about $50 per month.

She was married that summer, and her husband died in the same year. Afterward for a time she lived in Brooklyn, keeping house for her sisters-in-law while they finished their college work. Her recreations at this time consisted of conventional social pursuits, visits to art galleries and museums, and reading at home several evenings a week. The friend who had given her an interest in India was then studying in New York, and became her companion in many of these pursuits.

In Munich, where her art studies in Europe centered, she spent her working hours studying the history of art. Work and recreation were combined in her hours in the galleries. The theater was one of her frequent diversions, and all her Sundays were given to pleasure-seeking of the kind to which her interests inclined her. She traveled and went sightseeing, and had some boating and tramping. During her stay abroad she spent one month in the Tyrol.

The inspiration for her European studies and travel came to her from the friends with whom she

traveled. They were students like herself, and her association with them stimulated her studies in art and German literature. Her early pleasure in German literature persisted, and led her on to read much German and some French. This environment of friends and place was the influence which led to her days in the galleries.

After her return from abroad came her art school work in Cleveland. Later, she did social work among girls in Cleveland, and in the summer her work connected her with a vacation camp for the girls. For the last eight years she has been doing special library work. In all these occupations her salary has been a moderate one.

In those former years she had little or no leisure. Her vacations were spent in work at the girls' camp, where she was on duty from 5 A.M. to 12 P.M. Whenever she could she went to her mother's family in the country. Her preferences in spare-time activities for this period were still vivid experiences of persons and situations, sketching, some "out-of-door accomplishments," and some housekeeping.

Her present occupation in connection with library work in Cleveland has brought with it activities of a mixed business and recreational character—luncheon interviews, reading, and visits to clubs. At the time she was interviewed she was giving her leisure time at the library to interviewing people engaged in study of the drama. Her working day includes library appointments, interviews, and club meetings. She reads much, on the street-cars, and at home each evening. Her reading includes newspapers and periodicals on current affairs, Russian literature, and books on poetry and art, especially oriental art. She gives some time to housekeeping, especially on Saturdays.

On Sundays in town she spends half the day putting her house in order, "doing" the Sunday papers,

sewing, and sketching. Three hours are given to boys' clubs or visiting, and the evening is given over to visiting and suppers with her friends. About twice a month Sunday evening is given to a little playhouse fostered by a local group of artistically interested people who engage actively in dramatical and musical activities and in bringing before the community the folk culture of the various race groups that make up the city. Her other recreations include theater-going and dining at restaurants about twice a month, some women's civic club activities, attendance at lectures, moving-picture theaters, concerts, and art galleries.

In the summer she travels, or lives out-of-doors on her farm, enjoying perfect leisure, sketching, looking after her farm, tramping in the hills, visiting and driving with her friends, and enjoying the village life. She enjoys doing manual work in her summer life, and once spent a whole summer rebuilding a log house.

In religious affiliation, H. calls herself a Presbyterian. Her mother was a very orthodox Presbyterian; her father came from three generations of free-thinkers. H. joined the church at the age of 15, not because of personal conviction or experience of conversion, but from pressure of influence about her. For about one half-year she attended church, and was even president of the Christian Endeavor Society; she thought of being a missionary. She remembers hearing them pray for her as a lovely spirit when she was sick, but found herself unable to experience anything in particular; she read the Bible a great deal, and was disturbed by the injunction that if you "drink not in truth you drink to damnation." Not feeling at all sure of herself, she felt obliged to refuse to take communion; she could not explain this to anyone. This happened at a time

when her mother was sick; after her mother's death, she became detached from the church, and has never associated herself with religious activities since, although she attended a very religious college which had a distinctly missionary atmosphere. Instead of responding to this environment she became, through the influence of her radically inclined college mentors, constantly more and more inclined to German philosophy and thought.

Of her experiences, H. says that she is "glad and sorry" that she has done the things that she did. Her attitude toward all the events and associations of her life is absolutely empirical, and she considers any question as to "helpfulness" or any regrets as regards the effect of her activities upon herself, as not compatible with her attitude toward her experiences, past or future. She does feel that she has not had enough athletics, and that if her mother's strict conformity to the proprieties had not discouraged or prohibited activities of this sort, she might have acquired some other active outdoor interests which would have had a place among her present recreations.

Her preferences in spare-time activities have always been pursuits which should have social interest and bring her in touch with people and with vivid sensations, with adventure and discovery and colorful living. She says that her membership in the women's civic organization, which exposes her to lectures and talks, is induced by a sense of duty and community spirit. Most of her activities are traceable, however, to her associations with artist friends, and to her own abiding interest in art and in people, and to her love for the out-of-doors. She does things because she enjoys them, not consciously from a sense of duty or because they will be good for her. She says of herself that she "cherishes a would-be

pagan philosophy and Nietzschean point of view," but occasionally falls into good deeds, "which she tries to forget, not desiring to luxuriate in the pleasure of feeling serviceable or important."

It might be said of H., with a more complete application even than in the case of G. above, that her life has been so ordered that all of her work has been or has been made avocational, while her avocational interests and absorptions have been carried over into her work. Her work to her means *people*—always, and all kinds of people: "I make my business largely social." It is never mechanical, never routine nor a drudgery, but involves genuine interests and possibilities of expressing individuality and creative spirit.

IX

J., born in Cleveland of American parents, has spent all the 28 years of his life in an environment of comfort and material ease, and in the assurance of means, by reason of family wealth, to gratify any inclination or desire. His father is an owner of large mining properties, who, from the days of J.'s boyhood, seems to have been held at home by ill health; and this latter circumstance has been a decided factor in shaping the course of his son's spare-time life, inducing as it did between the two a close and constant companionship, based on the elder man's need.

As a small boy J. was sent to private schools for both his elementary and secondary training. He remembers having had a trained nurse for a short time in his childhood, and in his early boyhood, during a trip to Europe and several winter trips to

the South, he had a private tutor. He chose to go to a large eastern university, not for any purpose of study, but quite definitely to "have a good time." His most distinctive spontaneous interest there seems to have lain in a course in the drama, falling in with and giving purpose to an early habit of playgoing. His future "job" was even then already arranged: he was scheduled to enter his father's business, and there is no indication anywhere in his interview of either enthusiasm or disinclination on his part for the plan. He failed to graduate from college because of deficiency in his studies.

His training for business life consisted in four month's serving as secretary to his father, three months spent in working through all the office departments, and four months in the mill department of an iron and steel company in an Ohio manufacturing town, and three to five months spent in iron and coal mines in the northwest. He was then made assistant to the sales manager of the family firm. His income through this time seems not to have been measured by his apprenticeships, for he reports that throughout his life it has "always been sufficient to supply him with everything."

In matters of religion, J.'s experience has been chiefly negative. His father belongs to a Quaker family but has never joined the church. His mother is Episcopalian. J. attended Sunday school regularly as a boy for about five years; he was member of a Bible study class for two years of his prep school life, because he found out that membership in such classes or in the Y.M.C.A. secured a boy more privileges than he could otherwise get. He says that he "discovered that religion was a political matter," and that he was "affected by the tremendous atmosphere of hypocrisy of religious organizations." He says that now he "despises hypocrisy

more than immorality." He has never joined a church; he attends worship about once a year.

Of his boyhood recreations at home he remembers playing about the yard, spending much time at the stable with his father's coachman. His reading consisted of a few adventure stories, such as those of Henty, *Treasure Island*, and *Kidnapped*. He often played backgammon and solitaire with his invalid father, and occasionally on Saturday evenings his mother provided a dancing party at home for him; at these parties, he says, his mother always "shooed" the children together. He took some banjo lessons, but did not persist enough to learn to play.

At J.'s elementary school there was a regular two-hour play period each day, in which he played tennis, handball, basket-ball, marbles, and pom-pom-pull-away; in the winter there was swimming. J. was a member of minor teams in various sports, but never played baseball, although each class had four or five teams. He attended dancing school in the winter one afternoon each week, and went to a Saturday matinée each week. He skated occasionally, for a short time rode a bicycle, and often was met by the coachman after school and taken on long drives. He was also fond of stopping for an ice-cream soda on the way home from school.

In this period three of his summers were spent at an eastern sea-coast resort, two were spent on tours in Europe, one on a yacht cruise in the Atlantic, one in the White Mountains, and one in the Adirondacks, where he went swimming, canoeing, and hiking with guides.

The activities of this period of J.'s life, it will be seen, were almost all of them—as his dancing, theater-going, and driving—instituted by his parents or by school regulations or customs, as were his athletics, tennis, and Bible club work, or else they

were acquired by reason of association with parents or elders, as, for instance, his card-playing with his father. Interest in other games came through association with other boys.

At his prep school he played football every day in the fall for three years, and tennis in the spring. In his first year he took special gym work, and for two winters he had indoor track work and basketball and swimming; on Saturday nights the boys danced in the gym, and on Sundays went on country hikes. J. tried unsuccessfully for the dramatic association, and did two years of required debating work, for which he had little interest. He was not allowed to leave the school grounds to attend the theater, and had no card-playing, no pool or billiards, water sports, skating, or class activities. Smoking was allowed during the last school year.

At college he had few athletic interests, though he took the required first-year gym course, and attended all the football games and watched the practice several times a week. He went to the theater very often, especially in the first year, and gave a great deal of time to card-playing, often carrying it through the night. He went sailing, attended club suppers and fraternity meetings several times a week, and in his Junior year spent the evenings and Sundays driving in his automobile to suppers in the country.

After leaving school he kept up his special interest in the theater, which had come to be a definite bent after his college course in the drama. His home interests at this time consisted in reading and playing cards with his father.

In the period in which he was getting his factory experience, he spent three nights a week at the movies and the rest of his time reading. He had no motoring nor dancing, but came home to Cleve-

land each week-end. During his stay in the mining country he frequently went to dances and house parties, where he played cards. He took many hikes with workmen of the mines. His two vacations of this period were spent on the lake shore near Cleveland, in swimming and boating. All his leisure interests of this time were, therefore, clearly a carrying over from his boyhood and school days.

His spare-time activities since his twenty-fifth year have been the same as those of the earlier after-school period. At home he reads before dinner and before going to bed, and occasionally plays cards with his family. He has gone to the theater two or three times a week, to two or three social parties, where he has danced and played cards, and has attended several committee meetings each month. On summer evenings he plays golf, and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays either plays golf or attends professional baseball games with his father, who is a great "fan." At the golf club he also dances and plays cards. He has no lodge nor political interests, and does not play pool or billiards.

The pursuits of this period of J.'s life have likewise been formed because of his surroundings and through his associates. He learned to play golf at a summer resort where this happened to be the only recreation open to him, since there were no companions of his own age. He was led to take up his committee work by alumni friends, and his interest in professional baseball is due to his association with his friends and with his father. His interest in the theater has been maintained in this period and deepened by his reading of plays. His preferences as before rest with the interests which he carried over from the preceding periods.

Weighing these pursuits of his leisure with respect to their helpfulness, he feels that his dancing has

led him to meet many people, and kept him in touch with girl friends whom he has known from boyhood. Athletics also have helped him to form friendships, occupied his idle time, and kept his mind "clean and healthy." He wishes he had had more of this kind of recreation. He reckons as the greatest gain of his college life the friends he made there. His reading has stimulated his imagination and his artistic appreciation of plays; he is more interested in the construction of plays than in their theses. In general, he feels, the theater and the movies have provided him with an interest outside of his business.

His vacations have not meant much to him except pleasant memories; they were usually spent with older people, and he was too young when he was taken to Europe to get much from the experience. His golf has given him exercise and older club acquaintances; his attendance at ball games, he says, has whetted his love of competition. He thinks that his smoking may, out of all his activities, have had a possible ill effect, since it has made him nervous; he was expelled from his prep school five days before graduation because he broke the regulations about smoking, and in one of the places in which he worked, where there was a rule against smoking, it got him into disfavor.

His present spare-time activities at home include reading and a short nap before dinner, and reading of plays before he goes to bed. His family are away in the South from February to April; when they are at home he plays solitaire in the evenings with his mother, his father looking on. Evenings at home are rare; he goes to the theater two or three times a week, and as often to dancing and social parties, and attends three or four alumni committee meetings a month. In the summer he plays golf before his late dinner, and plays cards or dances

afterward. On Saturday afternoons he plays golf or goes to a ball game in the summer, at other times plays cards at his club for a few hours, visits his sister, and in the evenings attends a play or a party at a country club. On Sundays he reads the papers, visits his sister and plays with her children, and sometimes goes to the art museum. In the summer he goes to polo games in the morning, to baseball games in the afternoon, or plays golf.

His working hours are methodically kept, and he has no spare-time interests connected with his work. J.'s own estimation of all his activities is almost wholly in the light of the friendships they have brought him—his college, club, golf, and social companionships. He does not meet new people; his associations at parties are with people whom he has known from childhood; and he would rather play "a bum game of golf with friends than a good game of tennis with strangers." He likes card-playing for the interest of the game; he does not like to talk while playing—wherefore he eschews playing cards with girls. He likes baseball for the excitement of the contest—"the enthusiasm of the ninth inning and rally carries him over two or three dull days." He is interested in the team as he is interested in his own business.

The story of J.'s life presents interesting and instructive contrasts and likenesses to those that have gone before. His boyhood and even his later experiences differ from those of the other persons described in that they have a setting of material affluence and unlimited range in choice. Yet they are strikingly like those of all the others in that such activities and interests as have become rooted in

his life are based on the associational influence of parents and friends, and on personal energy in carrying them on. Out of the whole range of opportunities which his world opened to him, this boy could avail himself only of those which his innate capacity and his own initiative made accessible to him, and of those which the external arrangement and conduct of his existence put into his path or fitted into his life. There is in connection with his pursuits of the latter kind a strong impression of the regulated and "required"; the effect is that of a personality not decidedly colored by individualistic trends and impulses, saving itself from monotony by a no more facile method and even a little less adventurously than those who fought economic and social handicaps—but still a personality open to all available influences, persevering in the pursuit of those activities that most appealed, and quick to perceive and commit itself to the unaffected, the invigorating, and the morally and mentally wholesome.

CHAPTER V

NON-RECREATIONAL INFLUENCES

A complete survey of the lives of these 160 people includes necessarily a consideration of the non-recreational factors which, in combination with the recreational influences that we have been studying, were at work in shaping the lives of the individuals. Such a consideration involves a scrutiny of the social and economic conditions in which the family life of their childhood and growing years had its footing, their non-recreational or semi-recreational personal associations, and their religious and educational background.

Occupational Status of Parents

Two hundred and sixteen occupations are represented among the parents of our group of wholesome people. Our interview reports show that 12 per cent of the parents at some time in their lives were engaged in trade, 28 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 10 per cent in professional work, not quite 1 per cent in public service, not quite 5 per cent in transportation work, a trifle less than 14 per cent in agriculture, a little more than 2 per cent in domestic and personal service, and less than

.5 of 1 per cent were laborers and clerks. The remaining 27.5 per cent were scattered among "miscellaneous" occupations.

How much bearing the occupation of a parent has upon the future development of a child these figures of course do not show. It may be that the child of a family that has a relatively larger income has a better chance to shape a career for himself and to develop in a normal way.[1] Perhaps, also, the child of such a family has the more abundant opportunities and the more diversified and healthful spare-time interests. Most of the individuals of our group, as the schedules show, were the children of people of moderate circumstances, so that the conditions which represent the average economic level of the families from which the members of our group came are exceptional as compared with the present average economic status of families in Cleveland.

Family Circumstances

That these people grew up for the most part under rather favorable conditions of family life is indicated by the fact that of the whole group only one person lost both parents during childhood; 10 lost their mothers and 15 lost their fathers during childhood, and only eight had step-parents; to one of these eight, the experience of the parent's second marriage came when he was 17 years of age, to the rest earlier. Only six persons lost their mothers, and nine their

[1] Cf. *School Work and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. II.

fathers during adolescence. Divorce or separation of parents or step-parents occurred in only one case during the childhood of the person reporting and in only four cases at a later time in the life of the individuals. Only two drunkards are to be found among the parents or step-parents of the persons of the group.

A few of these people had unhappy childhoods. One of these persons gave the interviewer the impression that his childhood "was not pleasant to remember and was supposed to be forgotten, or not to have existed." Another's childhood home life is described as "very uncomfortable"; the father had an ungovernable temper and, as a result, his child feared him and "kept out of his way as much as possible." Another's recollections of his step-mother are "very bitter." Perhaps as unhappy a story as was found is that of a woman here referred to as "X."

Her father died when she was one and one-half years old. The mother supported herself by nursing, and X. was sent to her grandparents, who were very strict church people. The grandmother, a stern disciplinarian, spanked X. nearly every day. When the child was six years old, her mother remarried, and X., with a brother who had been living with other relatives, went back to live with her. The mother was unaffectionate; and when, three years later, another child was born, X. was no longer welcome in her mother's home, although the step-father was willing to support her brother. When X. was nine years old, her mother gave her to friends who lived on a farm, and who adopted her. These

foster-parents made X. work so hard on the farm that neighbors interfered. At 17, X. ran away from them and went to her brother, who was very much devoted to her.

Experiences such as these, however, are rare in our records.

In a few cases, the individual interviewed had an impression that his parents' interest in him centered in very little else than getting work out of him. The case of G.,[1] whose boyhood responsibilities on his father's farm were so oppressive that they have killed his interest in gardening, illustrates this type of experience. Of a similar case the interviewer says:

His parents taught him nothing but to work. They were not interested in recreations, and, considering dancing, card-playing, and pool and billiards wrong, prevented Y. from engaging in any of these activities. After his marriage his wife taught him to play cards. Because his father worked as a mason in the summer, he forced Y. to spend all his vacations working hard on the farm.

But in general, most of our 160 people had a wholesome and happy childhood. Even in cases such as those just cited there was usually one parent or a grandparent or some relative or friend in the home to furnish sympathy, encouragement, and comradeship which no doubt helped much to make a normal development possible. There is evidence of this sort in the statements, quoted earlier,[2] of

[1] Chap. iv. [2] *Ibid.*

individuals who testify to the constructive home influences of their childhood. Another case is that of a man who—

received constant criticism from his mother, appreciation from his father. The mother was strict, and had her own ideas of what a child ought to do. The father believed in self-expression. These parents provided opportunities for wholesome recreation and a good education.

Often where one parent was indifferent, the other exercised a good influence. Thus in one case it is reported that "the father had practically no influence on the spare-time activities of Z.; the mother always required him to report home after school. Z. was taken to church and to Sunday school regularly." Another report reads: "The father, after the mother's death, was always at home evenings and Sundays. He was very particular in the bringing up of his daughters." That in some cases some other relative exerted parental influence is discovered in the statement concerning one of our people, that "her parents had no unusual influence on her. The first to be a real inspiration was an aunt with whom she lived for two years."

Even widowhood and a job did not prevent some of the mothers of our people from exerting a helpful influence upon their children. The case of C. shows the lasting influence, in the lives of her children, of a mother who "in spite of her busy life, found time to read to them, tell them stories, sing to them, walk with them, and take them to parks on Sundays; she

stimulated in them a desire to go to school. . . ."[1] Similarly, there is the case of W., who "cannot pay high enough tribute to the influence of her parents," etc. Another woman testifies that she—

considers that her father's conversation, his habits of reading and study, influenced her very much. Her mother's influence still shows in the daughter's inability to give up entirely her church connections, especially for her children. There are certain things which quite illogically she is still unable to do on Sunday. While she can play golf, she cannot give or attend parties, etc. She speaks of her mother as having an imagination stifled by a New England conscience.

In the case of another it is reported that "loss of the father's income forced her mother to go to work. Adverse circumstances brought her very close to her mother."

Several of our wholesome people were the children of clergymen. Of one of these it is said: "The father spent little time with M., being half the time away on ministerial duties. The mother spent much of her leisure time with the boy; often she took him with her on her visits to friends and to chautauquas." Of still another the report reads:

Through the influence of his father, who was a minister, he early came to have church interests which have been maintained through life. His father suggested joining the Y.M.C.A.; he was always interested and a constant adviser in his son's activities. The latter now, on vacations, talks over all

[1] Chap. iv.

his problems with his father in the most confidential way.

These cases are typical of our reports. The impression is clear that in spite of poverty, death, and even of sometimes untoward relations with stepparents, most of our wholesome people in childhood had the attention of parents or of persons *in loco parentis,* and that unquestionably favorable home conditions of this kind had much to do with the development of wholesome personality.

That helpful family relationships supplemented favorable recreational environment is indicated in these reports themselves and by other facts already presented. This emphasizes the fact, already pointed out above, that such home surroundings afford the best possible conditions for the use of spare time. Indeed, how to untangle the influence of personalities in the home and the influence of spare-time activities engaged in there has not yet been discovered. It is possible, however, to gather from our study of these reports the clear assurance that the proper use of spare time at home had much to do with the wholesome development of our people, in that their spare-time activities were directed in an atmosphere that excluded demoralizing influences and that supplied constructive incentives and discipline.

Chums and Gangs

Of the women of our group, 25—possibly 27—report having had girl chums before they reached high

school age. Of the men, 17—or possibly 18—had chums when they were boys. The figures are given thus because in a few cases it cannot be determined whether the individuals concerned had chums or were members of gangs or not. These numbers are surprisingly small. By "chums" these people mean intimate and continuous association with other boys and girls, most frequently outside of their families. We have already pointed out the almost universal occurrence of other children in the play life of these people during their childhood. Does this small number of chums indicate that these boys and girls were unsocial beings and had not yet developed those intimate friendships which often mark adolescence, or does it mean that the chum is an indication of an unfavorable home or recreational life, and that in this group, having such favorable home surroundings, either the need of outside companions was not felt or else such associations had no chance to develop?

A surprisingly small number of these people in childhood and youth belonged to gangs. The smallness of this number may indicate merely that many of these people, when they were interviewed, did not recall their chums or the gangs with which they may have been associated in adolescence. But the investigators took care especially to learn whether the men had belonged to gangs in boyhood. Yet only six out of our 73 men report having been members of gangs. Only two women spoke of groups of girl friends with whom they associated when they

were girls. These numbers do not square with the figures of Sheldon, as quoted by Puffer: "Three boys in every four are members of a gang."[1] Neither does this study substantiate the statement of one writer that "for the normal boy the play group is the gang."[2] Rather, it indicates that for the normal boy, environed by good social conditions, almost any other group is the play group.

The question thus naturally arises: Does not the gang signify the lack of proper home or community effort to care for the spare time of boys? The facts regarding chums and gangs indicate that the companionships of youth are not so hard and fast, and exclusive of all but a fixed group, as the "gang" theorists of play maintain. These wholesome citizens in childhood belonged to changing groups which were constantly dissolving and re-forming. In this respect, they are not dissimilar to the delinquent children described in the first report of this Survey,[3] except that the groups which the latter helped to constitute often have a flavor of being on the defensive against grown-up points of view, and, within the group, of an outlaw loyalty to one another.

Church and Sunday School Attendance

A large proportion of the parents of the persons of our group were either members of churches or at-

[1] Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912), p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[3] *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. I.

tended churches: 70 per cent of the fathers and 86 per cent of the mothers of our men, and 57 per cent of the fathers and 75 per cent of the mothers of our women, went regularly to church or were members of churches. These facts imply favorable influences in the lives of the children of these families.

That the church plays a vastly smaller part in the adult lives even of wholesome people than in their childhood is manifest from the schedules of the persons studied. Of our wholesome people themselves, 92 per cent—94 per cent of the men and 91 per cent of the women—attended Sunday school or church in childhood or youth. Only 15 of the men (2.5 per cent) and 27 of the women (31 per cent) take an active part in church activities at the present time; 31 of the men (42 per cent) and 48 of the women (53 per cent) now go regularly to church, while 27 of the men (37 per cent) and 26 of the women (30 per cent) are attending irregularly. Fifty of the men (68 per cent) and 59 of the women (68 per cent) are church members, and four persons (2.5 per cent of the whole group) declare themselves to be free-thinkers. Seventeen (23 per cent) of the men and 11 of the women (13 per cent) say that they attended church in childhood, but that this attendance has lapsed; five men (7 per cent) and six women (7 per cent) in addition were formerly active in church affairs, but are no longer so. Six men (8 per cent) and two women (2 per cent) describe themselves as non-believers.

Of those who have dropped their church interests, three men and five women say that it has been be-

cause of other duties; 12 men and four women assign their defection to religious difficulties; six men and seven women state that the church has lost its appeal to them; and nine men and five women assign the change to a break in their former habits.

Certainly this is an arresting record. Perhaps it will be argued that these results demonstrate beyond cavil that the church is the most potent single influence in the formation of wholesome personalities. There can be no doubt that the church played a very great part in the interests of the childhood and youth of the people of our study. But to make it the decisive factor in their development is like all one-sided explanations of such complex results as character.

However, no interest in another factor must deter us from crediting the church, like the factor of home conditions already discussed, with an important influence on the lives of the people whose testimony we are weighing. Some of them testify specifically to such an influence. But here, too, there is the difficulty of resolving a compound influence into its primary elements—of tracing the relative force of the spiritualizing influence of doctrinal teaching and of the socializing influence of helpful personalities and recreational opportunities. On the one hand, our analysis of the influence of the church as an agency for the constructive use of spare time will help to make clearer, perhaps, the elements of this aspect of its influence; on the other, it is only fair to conclude, on the basis of the statements of our people, that religious motives were instrumental in giving direction to their lives.

Of the 160 persons of our study, 110 (70 per cent), or 50 men and 60 women, attended high school. This is a very large percentage as compared with that of persons out of the city's whole population (40 per cent) who attend high school today; and this figure was much smaller in the past. Of these 110 persons, 83, or 35 men and 48 women, more than 50 per cent, finished high school; 50 per cent of all the high school pupils of the city today complete their courses. Only 27 of our group—15 men and 12 women—failed to finish. Certainly this striking superiority in educational advantage should be taken into consideration in accounting for the wholesomeness of our people.

Moreover, 53 persons, 25 men and 28 women, or just about one-third of the group, went to college. Forty of these, 20 men and 20 women, were graduated; 13 of them, 5 men and 8 women, did not finish. There were 26 (17 men and 9 women) who took technical or post-graduate courses; of these, 14 (10 men and 4 women) finished their work, and 12 (seven men and five women) fell short of completing. Of the 45 (i. e., 18 men and 27 women) who attended the normal school, business colleges, or private schools, or took correspondence-study work, 33 (i. e., 14 men and 19 women) did not finish a specific course.

Summary

1. While we cannot compare the economic condition of the families of our wholesome people during child-

hood with the conditions which prevailed in the families of Clevelanders in general at the same period, or with present conditions, it is fair to say that without a doubt the circumstances under which they spent their childhoods were unusually favorable to wholesome development.

2. The childhood lives of our people were rich in the influence of strong personalities in the home; even where, as through stress of adverse economic conditions, the natural office of the parent in recreational guidance had broken down, there was a substitutional relation to some near relative or other adult mentor either in or outside of the home.

3. The small number of our people who had intimates or chums outside of their families, or who were members of gangs, is an unusually favorable indication, vouching for the adequacy of home recreational life.

4. We have no way of judging how nearly the church attendance of our people and of their parents is typical of the church interests of all the people of Cleveland and of the parents of all Clevelanders. It is apparent, however, that the church and its activities played a prominent part—in some cases an unusual part—in the spare-time interests of our people during childhood, and in those of their parents.

5. The educational advantages of this group were far superior to those enjoyed by the majority of their contemporaries or even by the youth of the present. Here is another potent factor in the wholesome development of these people.

CHAPTER VI

HOW FAR IS THIS SELECTED GROUP REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHOLE POPULATION?

To have a basis for offering the conclusions of our inquiry as pointing a lesson with regard to the recreational life of all people in Cleveland, it is necessary to establish, as definitely as possible, how far our selected group of individuals is representative of the whole composite formation of the city's population.

Nativity of Parents

Of the fathers of the persons interviewed, 53 per cent were born in the United States; of the mothers, 66 per cent. Seven per cent of both fathers and mothers were born in England; 19 per cent of the fathers, and 11 per cent of the mothers, in Germany; 4.6 per cent of the fathers, and 4 per cent of the mothers, in Ireland; not quite 1 per cent of the fathers, and 2 per cent of the mothers, in Austria. Of the rest of the fathers, one was born in Russia, three in Canada and Nova Scotia, one in Denmark, one in France, one in Wales, three in Holland, one in Italy, one in Bohemia, one in Sweden, and one in

Poland. Of the rest of the mothers, one was born in France, one in Wales, one in Italy, one in Scotland, and one in Bohemia.

Of the persons interviewed, 80, or just one-half of the total group, were born in Ohio. Of these, 46 were born in Cleveland; 21, or slightly more than 12.5 per cent, were born in foreign lands.

It is apparent from these figures that our selection of wholesome citizens is not quite representative of the population of Cleveland with respect to nativity; for while only 65 per cent of the city's population are native-born, 87 per cent of our selection are natives.[1] While 1.5 per cent of the native white residents of foreign parentage in the city are of English descent, 7 per cent of the persons of this study had English parents; 14 per cent of the native white population of Cleveland have German parents, while only 11 per cent of our group show German parentage. Austria is another country which is not adequately represented in the parentage of our wholesome people.[2]

This disproportion, however, only shows how random, with respect to considerations other than wholesomeness, were the selections made for the purposes of this investigation. The percentages approximate nearly enough the proportional representation in the city's population to make us confident that the selections yield fairly typical differ-

[1] *The Cleveland School Survey*, Cleveland Education Survey, Vol. XXV.

[2] *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 398.

ences, as between natives and foreign-born, in the use of spare time. A larger proportion of natives, moreover, should make for a better understanding of the results of spare-time habits bred in an American environment. It is in this setting that we have to deal with the facts of recreational development; and while particular activities, as they may vary from generation to generation, may vary also from race to race and from nation to nation and from sex to sex, types of activity are much the same among all nationalities and for both sexes, to the degree in which the same types of influences help in the forming of spare-time habits.

Circumstances of Birth and Rearing: Urban and Rural

If our 160 cases are absolutely typical of all Clevelanders of the same age group with respect to place of birth and rearing, the facts regarding their rearing lend little support to the widely accepted theory that most of the wholesome people of any city are recruited from the country round about. Only 16 out of our 160 people were reared altogether in the country, while 60 were reared wholly in the city; 24 were reared wholly or partly in the country, while 78 were reared wholly or partly in the city; 10 others were reared in the suburbs of the city. While these figures overlap to some extent, it is apparent that most of these people grew up in city homes.

Another widely current notion, namely, that "the Lord made the country, man made the city, and the

devil made the little country town," is not borne out by our study. Of the people whom we interviewed, 21 per cent were reared wholly or in part on farms, 38 per cent wholly or in part in small towns; while 55 per cent were reared wholly or in part in the city, and 8 per cent in the suburbs of the city. The numbers of these wholesome people, now residents of Cleveland, who were born and brought up in this city are not without interest:

	No.	Per Cent
Born in Cleveland	46	25
Reared in Cleveland (wholly or partly)	72	45

These figures lead to the question as to what influence long residence and permanent establishment in a community have in the development of wholesome citizenship. Probably the resultant multiplicity of social ties tends to produce conformity to a type conceded to be wholesome; much more significant is the probability that long residence makes an individual better known, and naturally leads to recognition of him, if desirable, as a type; while other persons, just as desirable, who have not been in the community as long, have not yet achieved this prominence of place in the esteem of their neighbors.

If our 160 people represent a selection which is typical with respect to all the considerations discussed above, it follows that having been born in Cleveland not only does not operate to eliminate persons so conditioned from the representation of desirable members of the community, but seems

rather to be a concomitant of such other attributes as will win for an individual a place in the ranks of those accredited with "wholesomeness." Therefore, if it is assumed that the recreational influences were in large part determining factors in shaping the lives of these people, the figures just presented may fairly be regarded as a testimonial to the adequacy, in these cases at least, of the recreational opportunities which Cleveland afforded when these people were growing up. While we may not conclude from this that what Cleveland has done to provide for recreational needs is adequate to the needs of today, in view of the changes in conditions that have come about since these people formed their spare-time habits, we can say that such facilities as the records of these cases indicate were provided have produced good results.

Present Occupations

With respect to occupational distribution our selected group is fairly representative of the total population of Cleveland. Of all the people gainfully employed in Cleveland, 51 per cent are engaged in manufacturing, while of our group not quite 37 per cent are so employed; 13 per cent of all Clevelanders, as against 17 per cent of our selected group, are engaged in trade; 11 per cent of the city's inhabitants are employed in personal service as a gainful occupation, whereas somewhat less than 31 per cent of our wholesome citizens report occupation in personal service, including also such as is not gainful.

The preponderance of the personal-service class among these selected citizens is due to the fact that, of the 160 persons interviewed, 87 were women, whose occupations in many cases were those of housewife and mother. It might seem that in these cases wholesomeness is due to opportunity afforded by leisure; however, a large proportion of these are women who are tied down by actual home duties. Moreover, even if they were of the leisured type, the circumstances implied would not have affected the spare-time activities of any but the last two periods of their lives—i. e., the period from marriage to the year preceding the time of this study, and the "present" time.

Sex

Among all the residents of Cleveland who were 15 years of age or over in 1910, the proportion of males to females was 106.6 to 100; among our 160 people, there were 73 males and 87 females. Our group therefore is not perfectly typical with respect to the proportions of the sexes comprised in it. This would doubtless make some difference with regard to the reports secured for certain of the spare-time activities, where it is question of absolute typicality; since, however, we have carefully studied the activities of each of the sexes, such possible differences have been allowed for in the results presented.

Marital Condition

Of the 73 men of our group, 12, or not quite 17 per cent, were single; and 61, or over 83 per cent, were

married. Of the 87 women, 33, or over 37 per cent, were single; 52, or over 60 per cent, married; and two, or over 3 per cent, widowed. There was not a divorced man or woman among these 160 persons, nor any married person who was living apart from his spouse.

Of all males in Cleveland who were 15 years of age or over in 1910, 38.2 per cent were single, 57.9 per cent married, 3.1 per cent widowed, and .5 of 1 per cent, or 910 out of 208,923, divorced. Of all females of that census who were 15 years of age or over, 30.3 per cent were single, 59.1 per cent married, 9.8 per cent widowed, and .7 of 1 per cent, or 1,347 out of 191,747, divorced. It should be remembered that none of the persons of our group was less than 20 years old, and also that it contains fewer persons at the other age extreme than are included in the census figures. Thus, the percentage of unmarried persons among our males is smaller than in the total census group—17 per cent as against 38 per cent; the percentage of married persons among our females is almost the same as in the total census group; and in our group there are fewer widows, proportionately, than in the total census group.

Since in this age group married people are, according to statistical findings, less liable to delinquency than unmarried persons, these differences may indicate that our people are not representative. Since, however, we are avowedly investigating a selected group—the wholesome—such differences

may be regarded conversely as clues in the analysis of wholesomeness.

Summary

1. We have found that while the foreign-born compose 35 per cent of the population of Cleveland, this section of the city's people is represented by only 12.5 per cent of our group. It is apparent, therefore, that the foreign-born have not yet achieved recognition, as regards wholesomeness, in proportion to their numbers—that is, if we may assume that the group of persons through the medium of which our lists of wholesome people were obtained had an adequately comprehensive acquaintance and a really inclusive enough basis of judgment to assure our obtaining a complete representation *on the score of wholesomeness*. Perhaps these figures indicate that differences of language and of national customs have some bearing in the matter. No matter how we explain the fact just cited, since recreation is one of the most important methods of Americanizing the foreign-born, and, just as importantly, of acquainting Americans with their fellow-Americans of foreign ancestry, the slight place which the foreign-born are conceded in our selected group suggests the significance, for both native and immigrant, of provision of recreation for our immigrant groups.

2. Twenty-five per cent of our people were born, and 45 per cent reared, in Cleveland; we have no means of knowing whether or not the proportions of Cleveland-born and Cleveland-bred persons in the

total population of the city correspond to these percentages. Of our group, however, over 50 per cent were born in the state of Ohio; of the total population of Cleveland, 52.8 per cent were born in Ohio; these figures seem to show that Cleveland produces from its own people, or at least recruits from within the state, a due proportion of its wholesome citizens.

3. The persons of our group are fairly representative of the people of Cleveland with respect to occupational distribution.

4. Among our group of wholesome people there are more females in proportion to the males than in the population of Cleveland.

5. There is a larger proportion of married persons in our group than in the population of Cleveland; this may indicate that marriage goes along with wholesomeness in the rôle of an essential factor.

CHAPTER VII

SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF OUR 160 WHOLESOME CITIZENS

We shall proceed now to the detailed statistical consideration of the recreational activities of our group of wholesome Clevelanders. We shall endeavor to learn how they used their spare time through various periods of their lives up to the present time. We shall notice what changes took place in the activities that characterized these different periods, and what changes were made from period to period—how some activities dropped out, and how others were introduced. Then we shall try to learn how the persons of our group came to form these spare-time habits, noting the influence of example, imitation, opportunity, and direction upon their recreational interests. That their activities varied from period to period is probably in part due to the fact that some of their early pursuits were those peculiar to childhood; others belonged essentially to the period of youth; and still others, reported for later periods, are the conventional recreations characteristic of more advanced years. So far as it is possible to do so, we shall ascertain what influence all these activi-

ties had, either directly or indirectly, upon the forming of their characters.

I(A). Spare-Time Activities of Elementary School Years

In studying the activities reported for the childhood period up to the close of the elementary school life, it seemed desirable to consider separately the pursuits engaged in at home, at school, elsewhere than at home or school, and in vacations—a procedure which we had hoped it would be possible to apply to each of the later periods. It seemed desirable, when the schedule was framed, to make these divided analyses for each period, because it seemed probable that the activities of all the periods would vary much for the different places and under the different circumstances implied. However, when we came to study the schedules, it became evident that such differentiation was much more significant in the first than in any of the succeeding periods. Our study of the reports showed that the distinctions were clearer, at least in the remembrances of the people reporting, for the childhood and elementary school period than for any of the succeeding periods; and there was greater diversity in the activities assignable to each of these place divisions in this first period than in those that followed.

What puts vital emphasis upon this school-life period is the fact that most of the spare-time pursuits which these people later engaged in had been learned before the close of it; it was in this period,

therefore, that most of the spare-time habits of their lives were formed.[1] It seemed important, then, to measure comparatively, for this earliest period, the influences of home and school activities with the force of those engaged in elsewhere and in vacations. The evidences available from the schedules for similar comparisons in the later periods did not seem so significant.

Before these 160 people left the elementary school they had employed their spare time in at least 253 different activities. They engaged in 148 of these at home, 118 of them at school, 175 elsewhere, and 69 of them during vacations.

Home activities.—Of the 148 activities reported as engaged in at home, 52 are reported by only one person, and 19 more by only two persons, leaving 77 in which three or more persons engaged.

Of these, only 20, named here in the order of their frequency, were engaged in by 15 or more people: reading, home duties, musical activities, sewing and crocheting, playing with dolls, playing checkers, card games of all kinds, playing with other children, gardening, playing dominoes, playing with pets, manual work, studying lessons, collecting, croquet, horseback-riding, story-telling, parties, singing, hide-and-seek.

Reading and home duties stand out pre-eminent over all the other home spare-time activities; the former is reported by 107, the latter by 100, of the

[1] Cf. *School Work and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. II.

160 people. The nearest competitor of these is the group of interests called "musical activities," which includes all kinds of musical activity except singing and singing games; this is reported by 59 persons. Diagram 5 shows, for this and for the other place divisions of this period, the relative frequency with which the several activities were engaged in. The numerals across the graphs at the top show the number of persons reporting the respective activities; the vertical columns of numerals at the left number the activities in the order of frequency or popularity indicated by the numbers of persons who report them.

Spare-time pursuits engaged in at school.—Of the 118 different activities reported as engaged in at school, 39 are mentioned by only one person, 19 by only two; 60 are reported by three or more people. Only 18 are of leading importance, and only 10 are reported by 15 or more persons: ball (exclusive of basket-ball and football), tag, playing marbles, skip-rope, pom-pom-pull-away, crack-the-whip, prisoner's base, hop-scotch, playing jacks, ring games, playing with other children, hide-and-seek, playing with tops, gymnasium work, leap-frog, wrestling, drop-the-handkerchief, and duck-on-rock. These are also much more active pursuits than those engaged in at home; however, the most popular of them is mentioned by only 51 persons. The school seems to have played a comparatively slight part in the creating of recreation habits.

Activities engaged in elsewhere than at home or at school.—Of 175 activities reported as occupying our

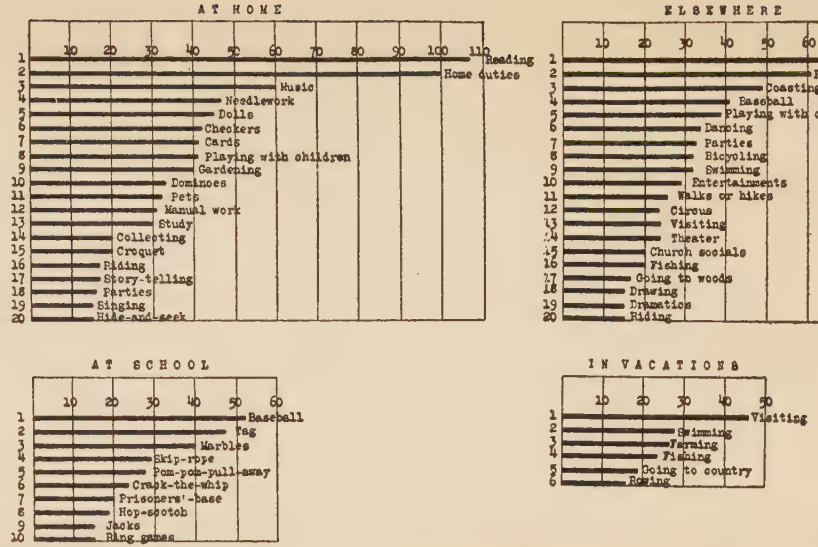


DIAGRAM 5.—RELATIVE POPULARITY OF SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PERIOD ENGAGED IN AT HOME, AT SCHOOL, ELSEWHERE, AND IN VACATIONS

wholesome people "elsewhere" during this period, 51 are mentioned by one person only, 22 by two only, and 102 by three or more people. Of the latter, 20 are reported by 15 or more persons: skating, picnics, coasting, baseball, playing with other children, dancing, children's parties, bicycling, swimming, entertainments, walking or hiking, going to the circus, visiting relatives or friends, going to the theater, church socials, fishing, going to the woods, drawing, dramatics, and horseback-riding. Among these, skating and picnics rank first: 72 of the 160 people skated, and 61 went on picnics. The pursuits referred to in this group are of a more active kind than the home activities.

Vacation activities.—Of the 69 vacation activities reported for this period, 24 are mentioned by only one person and 9 by only two, leaving but 36 activities engaged in by three or more persons; only 19 activities were engaged in by seven or more people, and only six by 15 or more. Visiting relatives or friends is reported by the largest number, 46; 28 report swimming, 27 worked on farms, 24 fished, 19 went to the country, mountains, and seashore, 16 went rowing, 14 played with other children, 14 traveled, 13 read, 12 engaged in home duties, and 11 report each of the following: camping, drawing pictures, building snow forts, and walking or hiking. Ten went on picnics, 8 went berrying, 8 worked in gardens, 8 sewed, crocheted, or knitted, 7 played ball, and 7 went to the woods.

Thus, among the home activities, reading and

home duties hold first place; at school, ball and tag are the most popular forms of play; of the activities engaged in elsewhere, skating and picnics are most reported; and as vacation pursuits, visiting relatives or friends and swimming hold highest place.

Comparison of the four divisions of this period shows that activities engaged in elsewhere than at home or at school are reported in greater number than those of the other divisions. As compared with 146 activities engaged in at home, 118 at school, and 69 in vacations, 162 activities are mentioned as engaged in elsewhere; or, if we eliminate those activities mentioned by only one and by only two persons, there remain 102 activities engaged in elsewhere, as compared with 77 engaged in at home, 60 at school, and 36 in vacations.

The home occupations are of a much less active kind than those reported for the other divisions, some of them being distinctly in the nature of work. It is certainly open to question whether home duties and lessons should be counted as spare-time activities. They are included in this study on the ground that, while they are not things done "for fun," they have, on the other hand, the same general relation to the spare time of children as those denominated as musical activities, and, in some cases, the same as sewing and crocheting, playing with other children, garden work, and manual work have; and they are, furthermore, like these latter, a part of that large section of the activities of children which, at least

in their formation, are directed or suggested by their elders. If, then, home duties—the chief of these debatable activities—and studying lessons had been eliminated from the list of activities engaged in at home, those engaged in elsewhere would have had an even greater relative predominance.

The significance of this trend of the evidence is apparent when taken in connection with the fact brought out in our analysis of the spare-time activities learned by association with friends outside of the home (chap. iii). It appears that while, as regards the home activities, the directing personalities were the determining element in the establishing of the childhood habits of these wholesome persons, the spare-time activities of this period which occupied them outside of the home and away from school made a much more lasting impression upon their minds. This probably signifies that the recreational life away from home and away from school, at least so far as these people were concerned, when there was no organized recreation either in the home or in the community, was actually richer than that which their homes offered. It indicates, moreover, the importance of organizing spare-time activities outside of the home and away from the school for constructive social purposes. If this is not done, the opportunities for such socially constructive direction presented by this tendency of children and youth to get together during their spare moments, away from the influence of teachers and parents, will be wasted for the community.

That there was no such result of social loss in the cases of our wholesome people must be considered in connection with their statements as to how they came to form their activities (see chap. iii). Obviously, in the very act of choosing the persons of our group on the basis of wholesomeness, we are selecting those cases in which it chanced to occur that the right persons or forces influenced choice of the activities which the individuals in question adopted as their spare-time interests. But in general it must be admitted that resting choice in the use of spare time on the haphazard selection of play leaders who themselves are children is taking too great a risk; and it is no wonder that, if the possibilities of the situation are neglected by those interested in the welfare of children and youth, and the latter are left to their own devices, they sometimes form associations and engage in activities that make for unsocial or anti-social development. Again, by the very fact that we have chosen wholesome citizens, we have eliminated case illustrations of this misguided or unguided kind of selection from our study. The first volume of this Survey, however, presents on this point the striking evidence that out of a typical group of delinquent children whose offenses are clearly shown to be related to spare-time influences, the largest section consists of those whose delinquencies are definitely suggested in the course of their habitual spare-time activities—and that, "as a fundamental condition of these delinquent

acts, the spare time is often merely idle, and empty of opportunities for wholesome recreation."[1]

Ranging all of the various spare-time activities with reference to the frequency of their mention for home, school, elsewhere, and vacations combined, we have 67 different activities engaged in by 15 or more people. These are shown, in the order of their frequency and with the numbers of the persons mentioning them, for all four divisions of the elementary school period combined, in Diagram 6. The combined number of mentions of the 22 most popular activities is 1,513; for the other 45, the combined number of mentions is 1,116. This perhaps indicates the relative measure of their popularity.

As one studies these activities, he is struck by the fact that among them there are so few mischievous or merely wasteful occupations. No vicious activities appear; and only .7 of 1 per cent can be classed as merely time-consuming. All the rest are activities as to the possible effect of which on the development of personality there is very little question. They show great variety, corresponding to differences of taste, and the pursuits themselves call for the application of the child's own powers and initiative. They are either those which satisfy the passion for action and, therefore, are beneficial to body and mind, or they are such as develop the individual socially.

A general review of the childhood pursuits of

[1] *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. I.

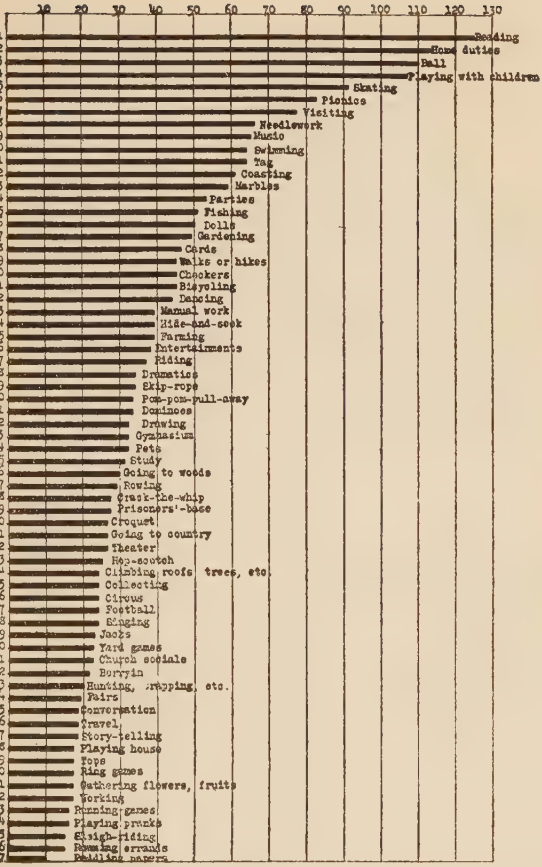


DIAGRAM 6.—RELATIVE POPULARITY OF THE SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL YEARS

The bars show the combined frequencies of the recreations engaged in at home, at school, elsewhere, and in vacations

158 of these wholesome people shows that 49 of the males and 48 of the females had an active spare-time life, while 26 of the males and 35 of the females inclined to non-active spare-time activities.

The only possibilities of ill influence in a program of such activities would lie in the associations in which the individual might be entangled while engaging in the activities. Since, however, our evidence emphatically shows these people to have had sound associations while forming their recreation habits, that aspect of the matter seems to have been properly guarded. The childhood phase of the activities of our group of people, therefore, presents a fair basis for normal development, so far as the use of spare time is concerned.

I(b). High School and College Years

Some very interesting differences appear between the spare-time activities reported for the elementary school period by our 160 persons, and those reported for the high school and college period by the 110 persons (70 per cent) who represent the group in the latter period. As has been shown, the 160 people before the close of their elementary school years had engaged in 253 different spare-time activities; the 110, during their high school and college years, engaged in only 107 activities. There was, therefore, an actual decrease in the number of activities reported for the latter period, aside from the relative shrinkage to be expected as a result of the numerical lessening of the group representing our whole-

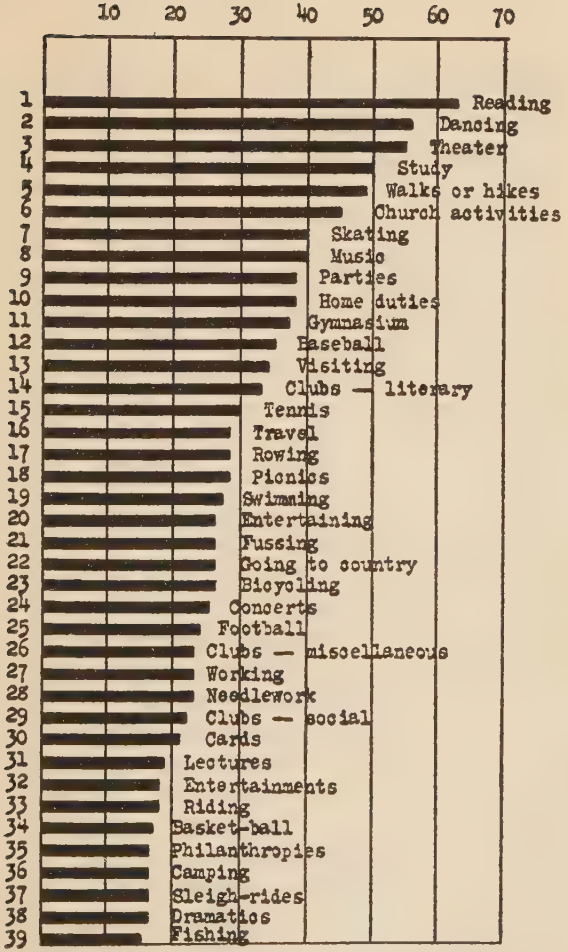


Diagram 7.—Comparative Popularity of the 39 Most Popular Spare-Time Activities of the High School and College Years

some citizens in this period. In this period only 39 spare-time activities are reported by 15 or more people, as against the 67 similarly reported for the preceding period. The relative popularity of these 39 most-favored activities, as indicated by the number of persons reporting them respectively, is shown in Diagram 7.

Naturally, the character of the activities reported for the two periods shows a marked change in interests; the relative importance of certain activities in this as compared with the previous period has also undergone a great change. Reading occupies first place here as in the former years; but the place of home duties, which came second then, is now taken by dancing. Going to the theater now holds third place, formerly held by ball-playing; playing with other children, which occupied fourth place in the first period, is now replaced by lessons; skating, which held fifth place in the first period, by walking, and hiking; picnics, formerly sixth, by church activities; fishing, which ranked fifteenth in the former period, in the second period yields this rank to tennis, and drops to thirty-ninth place.

A comparison of the two periods shows not only a relatively very greatly lessened range of activities for the high school and college years as compared with the earlier period, but also a decrease, altogether out of proportion to the decrease in the number of people eligible for consideration in the high school and college period, in the number of people who engaged in spare-time activities at all. For

example, only 63 people employed their spare time in reading in the latter period, as compared with 125 in the former period. The evidences show a very much richer recreational life for the elementary school period than for the high school and college period. And this recession of the outposts of recreational enterprise is a characteristic of the whole evolution—or involution—of our group: it is a change which will be found, as our study advances, to mark each of the successive periods in the lives of our wholesome people, as measured against that which just precedes it. In the high school and college period also we have the first stage of another tendency which will be seen to gain ground with each succeeding period: spare-time interests tend more and more to fall in line with the quiet, sedentary, conventionalized kind of habit typified by attendance at concerts and at clubs, and identified with church, charitable, and social activities.

The popularity of different activities varies for the sexes: the relative places in favor of the 31 activities engaged in by seven or more men during the high school and college period, as compared with the places of those engaged in by nine or more women, are shown in Diagram 8. Reading holds first place in the favor of the girls, and third in that of the boys; dancing, which ranks second in the estimation of the girls, stands ninth in that of the boys; home duties rank seventh with the girls and twenty-eighth with the boys; church activities rank fifth with the girls, and fifteenth with the boys. On the other hand, gym and calisthenics rank second

with the boys, and twenty-third with the girls; going to the country, the seashore, etc., ranks seventeenth in the reports of the boys and twenty-fourth in those of the girls. "Fussing"—here adopted from the conveniently defining school and campus speech, as applied distinctively to the merely social and incidental or boy-and-girl attentions of the sexes to each other—is reported in fourteenth place by the boys and in twenty-sixth place by girls. Card-playing ranks twenty-second with the boys, and thirtieth with the girls. Swimming ranks seventh with the boys, but does not occur among the 31 most popular activities of the girls. Going to the theater holds fourth place in popularity among both boys and girls. Walking and hiking also occupy the same relative place—sixth—in the favor of both sexes. In general, the comparative popularity of the different activities shows a greater preference among the boys for the more active and less sedentary pursuits, while the reverse is true for the girls.

There is no marked difference in the range of activities as between boys and girls. The former report a list of 27 activities each engaged in by 10 or more persons, and the latter a list of 30 such activities. The most popular recreation of the girls —reading—is mentioned by 41 persons, while the most popular activity of the boys—playing ball—is reported by only 26 persons. Of the 31 most frequently named activities of the girls, 9 persons name the least popular, while but 7 persons mention the least popular of the 31 most frequently named activi-

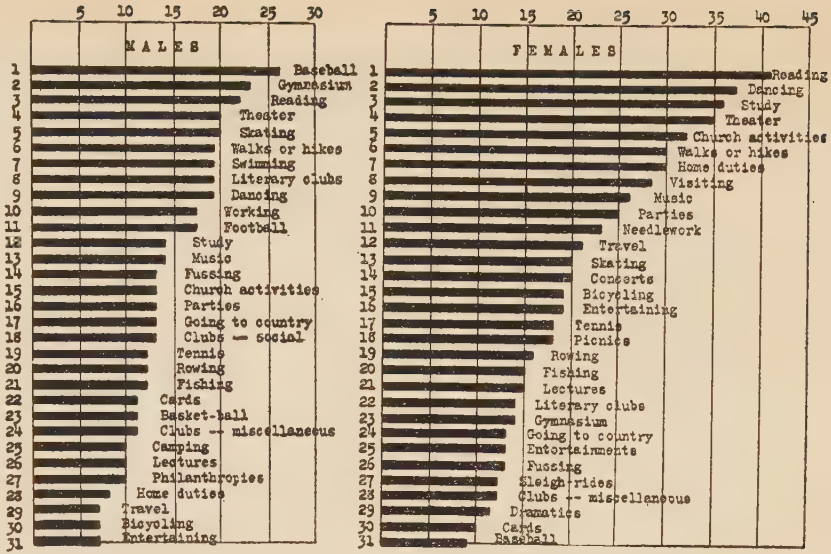


DIAGRAM 8.—COMPARISON OF THE RELATIVE POPULARITY OF THE RESPECTIVE SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE YEARS

ties of the boys. The same proportional differences appear with respect to the other activities of the two groups.

In this, as in the preceding period, the purposeful character of the activities which occupy the spare time of our group stands out, and the absence of vicious and wasteful occupations is to be noted. The spare-time life of this period is distinguished by healthy, lively, and social pursuits that show these people to have been open to the play of a wide range of interests which release from drudgery and offer to the expanding personality every natural opportunity for developing wholesomely.

II. Spare-Time Activities of the School-to-Marriage Period

Of the activities of the period defined in the lives of our wholesome citizens as extending from the close of the school years up to either the time of marriage or the twenty-fifth year of age, there are 40 occupations reported by 15 or more persons each. These, in order of their popularity, as indicated by the number of persons mentioning them respectively, are shown in Diagram 9.

In this, as in the preceding period, reading holds first place in the spare-time interests of our group. Going to the theater and dancing have changed places, the former standing second now and the latter third. Walking or hiking has the same rank in both periods, namely, fifth. Card-playing takes sixth place in this as compared with thirtieth place in the previous period; church activities, which

formerly held sixth place, have receded to eighth in this period. Going to picnics has advanced from eighteenth place to eleventh; travel, from sixteenth

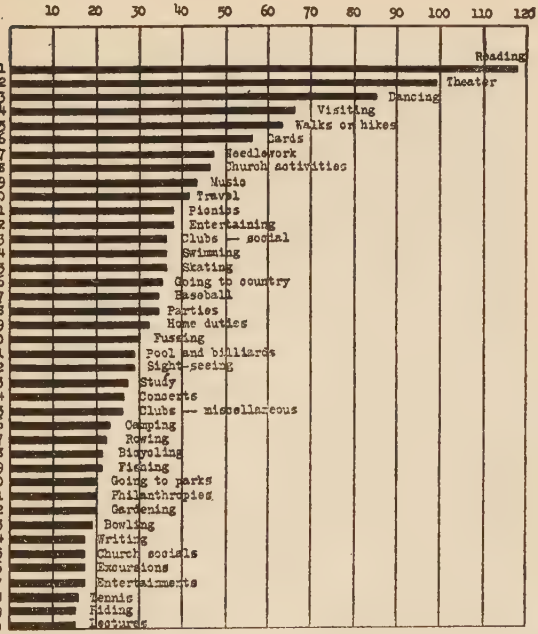


Diagram 9.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of the School-to-Marriage Period

to tenth; activity in social clubs, from twenty-ninth to thirteenth; entertaining friends and attending luncheons, dinners, etc., from twentieth to twelfth; and visiting relatives or friends, from thirteen to fourth.

From this list of the 40 most frequently named activities of the school-to-marriage period, five of the activities engaged in by 15 or more people during the high school and college period have dropped

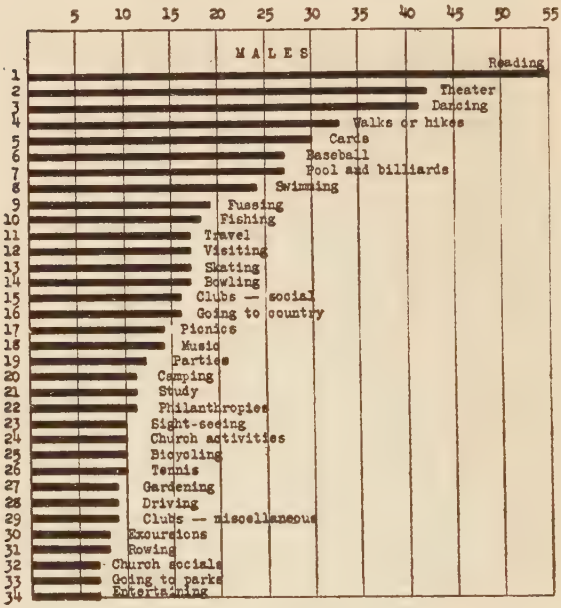


Diagram 10.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of Young Men in the School-to-Marriage Period

out: gym or calisthenics, literary club activities, basket-ball, sleigh-rides, and dramatics. On the other hand, eight which have not had a place in the preceding list appear here: horseback-riding,

excursions, writing (compositions, poems for fun, letters, articles), bowling, gardening, going to parks, sight-seeing, and playing pool and billiards.

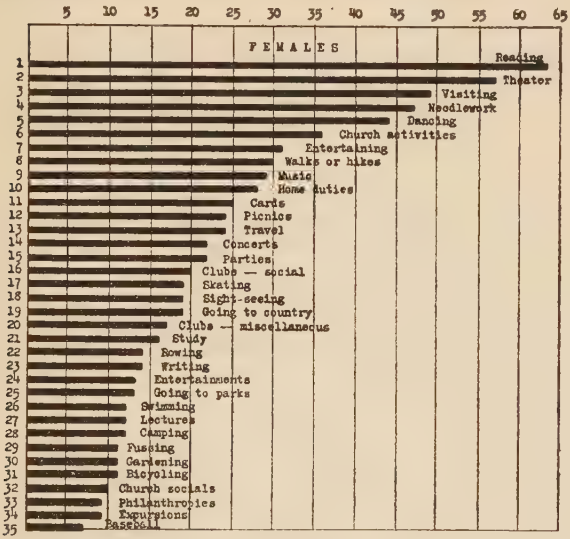


Diagram 10*a*.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of Young Women in the School-to-Marriage Period

A comparison of the preferences of men and women in this period are of interest (see Diagrams 10 and 10*a*). Some activities of course are peculiar to one sex, and in the nature of things will not occupy the same position in the preferences of both men and women. Thus sewing and crocheting holds fourth place in feminine preferences, and has no place at

all among masculine activities; on the other hand, ball-playing (exclusive of football and basket-ball) holds sixth place in the choices of the men and thirty-fifth place in those of the women. Aside from differences of this sort, however, the relative positions of some other activities in the preferences of the sexes are interesting, and perhaps throw some light upon the practical problem of shaping a recreation program adapted to the needs of both sexes.

For both sexes, reading and theater occupy first and second places, respectively; visiting relatives or friends holds third place in the choices of the women, while dancing comes third in those of men. The fourth place held by sewing and crocheting in the interests of the women is taken in those of men by walking and hiking. Dancing is fifth in the women's list, while card-playing comes fifth in the men's—the latter activity ranking eleventh in the preferences of the women. Due consideration of course must be given to the possibility of differences of this sort being due to differences in reporting. Thus, in this period fussing is given ninth place in the activities of the men and twenty-ninth in those of the women; fishing holds tenth place with the men and thirty-eighth with the women; charitable and social activities are twenty-second among the interests of the men, and thirty-third among those of the women; musical activities rank ninth with the women and eighteenth with the men. Church socials, going to the country, seashore, etc., gardening, excursions, reading, and going to the theater

occupy relatively the same positions among the activities of both men and women.

The masculine recreations of this period become less active, more sedentary; this is indicated in the relative rank of the spare-time activities of the men in the two periods. Comparison of the respective orders of popularity of the various pursuits of the men in this and the preceding period results in the alignment shown in Table II.

Thus, the first place held in the preceding period by ball is held by reading in this later period; going to the theater moves up to the second place previously held by gym or calisthenics; card-playing, which formerly ranked twenty-second, is now fifth. In this period the men seem to have spent more of their time fishing than in the previous period, for this pursuit now holds tenth place in interest as compared with twenty-first place in the previous period. But church activities among men have receded from fifteenth place to twenty-fourth.

The spare-time activities of the women in the high school and college and the school-to-marriage periods are compared in Table III. With the exception of walking or hiking, the most definitely active recreations of the women suffer decline in this latter period. Dancing recedes from second place to fifth; home duties, from seventh to tenth; parties, from tenth to fifteenth; skating, from thirteenth to nineteenth; tennis, from seventeenth to thirty-seventh; fishing, from twentieth to thirty-eighth.

TABLE II

Comparison of Ranking in Popularity of Spare-Time Activities of Adolescent Boys and Young Men

Spare-Time Activities	Rank in Popularity		Spare-Time Activities	Rank in Popularity	
	High School and College Period	School-to-Marriage Period		High School and College Period	School-to-Marriage Period
Ball (baseball, townball)	1	6	Going to country, seashore, mountains	17	16
Gym or calisthenics	2	..	Clubs (social)	18	15
Reading	3	1	Tennis	19	26
Theater	4	2	Rowing	20	31
Skating (roller or ice)	5	13	Fishing	21	10
Walking or hiking	6	4	Card-playing	22	5
Swimming	7	8	Sight-seeing	..	23
Pool and billiards	..	7	Basket-ball	23	..
Clubs (literary)	8	..	Clubs (miscellaneous)	24	29
Dancing	9	3	Excursions	..	25
Working	10	..	Camping	25	20
Football	11	..	Lectures	26	..
Studying lessons	12	21	Charitable and social activities	27	22
Visiting relatives and friends	..	12	Gardening	..	27
Musical activities	13	18	Horseback-riding	..	28
Bowling	..	14	Home duties	28	..
Fussing	14	9	Travel	29	11
Church activities	15	24	Bicycling	30	25
Parties	16	19	Entertaining friends (luncheons, dinners, etc.)	31	..
Picnics	..	17			

TABLE III

Comparison of Ranking in Popularity of Spare-Time Activities of Adolescent Girls and Young Women

Spare-Time Activities	Rank in Popularity		Spare-Time Activities	Rank in Popularity	
	High School and College Period	School-to-Marriage Period		High School and College Period	School-to-Marriage Period
Reading	1	1	Picnics	18	12
Dancing	2	5	Rowing	19	22
Studying lessons	3	21	Fishing	20	..
Theater	4	2	Lectures	21	27
Church activities (not socials)	5	6	Clubs (literary)	22	..
Walking or hiking	6	8	Gym or calisthenics	23	..
Home duties	7	10	Writing (compositions, poems for fun, letters, articles)	..	23
Visiting relatives or friends	8	3	Going to country, seashore, mountains	24	18
Musical activities	9	9	Going to parks	..	25
Parties	10	15	Entertainments	25	24
Sewing and crocheting	11	4	Swimming	..	26
Travel	12	13	Fussing	26	29
Skating (roller or ice)	13	19	Sleigh-rides	27	..
Concerts	14	14	Clubs (other kinds)	28	20
Bicycling	15	31	Camping	..	28
Entertaining friends (luncheons, dinners, etc.)	16	7	Dramatics	29	..
Clubs (social)	..	16	Card-playing	30	11
Tennis	17	..	Gardening	..	30
Sight-seeing	..	17	Baseball, townball	31	..

Correspondingly, other activities of a definitely sedentary character—some of them of the sedentary social kind—attain greater prominence than they had in the previous period. Visiting relatives and friends advances from eighth to third place; sewing and crocheting, from eleventh to fourth; card-playing, from thirtieth to eleventh; going to the country, the seashore, and the mountains, from twenty-fourth to eighteenth; and going to the theater rises from fourth to second, although going to lectures has fallen from twenty-first to twenty-seventh place.

Dramatics, sleigh-rides, and activity in literary clubs, which were prominent in the previous period, lapse altogether in this. Certain activities which were not prominent enough in the interests of the women in the preceding period to have a place in the list of preferred activities in that period attain to mention among the ranking activities of this period—i. e., excursions, charitable and social activities (such as Red Cross, Y.W.C.A., Associated Charities work), church socials, gardening, camping, swimming, going to parks, writing, and sight-seeing. Some of these are merely incidental to such change in occupation and mode of life as belong naturally to this period; others probably indicate a change in recreational tastes or conventions. Possibly still other apparent differences merely indicate that memory has played tricks as regards the importance assigned to different activities in differing periods.

The broadly significant indications which mark this period are:

1. Even with these wholesome people the ten-

dency has now set in toward the less active, conventionally social spare-time activities. As our group of wholesome persons advances through the two succeeding periods of increasing maturity, this tendency, notably among the women, to conform to certain conventional or popularly sanctioned types of activity will be seen to function more and more to the exclusion of the unusual or individualistic pursuits; while the corresponding tendency among the men to hold with settled habit to the way of custom becomes a double conformity, most completely manifested in the last and therefore most mature age period—i. e., the "present" of the time of the interview—in that, as they gradually let slip the more characteristically active and therefore more distinctively masculine pursuits from their interests, they follow with increasing complaisance along those most-traversed high-roads of recognized activities which their women choose.

2. The coming in of the vogue of out-of-door activities falls in with this period in the lives of our wholesome people; and in view of the fact that the influence of this new trend is overborne by the physiological tendency toward the less active and sedentary activities, the question suggests itself: Why not take advantage of this vogue of the out-door activities, making it more general and more potent to neutralize the sedentary tendency, and directing it into forms which will develop social relationships?

3. Other substitutes for sedentary activities should

be developed; this would be possible under the leadership of experts who have studied the whole question. The whole situation points to the need of such leadership, both for the direction and co-ordination of such interests as are already established, and for the initiation of new forms of activity. The necessity of linking the school more closely with the home is suggested by our study: since among our wholesome people few have learned any considerable number of new spare-time activities after the close of their school life, it is important that direction be given in childhood and youth, in the home and in the school as well, in the use of spare time, and that the activities so fostered be co-ordinated in a constructive scheme looking likewise toward the social needs of later life.[1]

III. Spare-Time Activities of Marriage-to-Past-Year Period

The total range of activities reported for the period following the school-to-marriage years is slightly less than that of the previous period; the total number of spare-time activities in this third age period is 108, as compared with 134 for the previous period. Of these 108 activities, however, eight are reported by only one person and 10 by only two persons, while in the previous period, out of the 134 activities, 29 are reported by only one and nine by

[1] See *School Work and Spare Time*, Cleveland Recreation Survey, Vol. II.

only two persons; and the list of pursuits reported by 15 or more people in this period includes 44 activities, as against the 40 of the previous period.

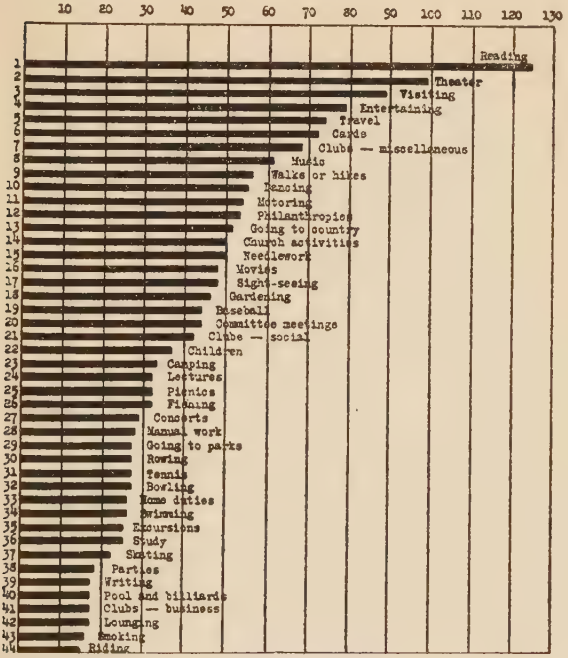


Diagram 11.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of the Marriage-to-Past-Year Period

In other words, while the total number of activities is less in this period than in the former, a comparatively larger number of persons are shown to engage in the more popular ones—an indication that in this

period there is more conformity to certain standard types of spare-time activities. This tendency to concentration of interest on certain pursuits is further exemplified in the fact that while in the previous period reading—which is the most popular activity of both the periods—is reported by 118 persons, there are 125 persons reporting it in the period we are now analyzing (see Diagram 11).

Comparison of this with the preceding period shows reading and going to the theater at the top of the list in both periods. Dancing, which stood third in the previous period, has yielded this rank to an activity of a different sort, namely, visiting relatives or friends, and fallen back to tenth place.

Spare-time activities of the preceding period which do not in this period attain to mention by 15 people are fussing, bicycling, church socials, entertainments, and horseback-riding. Their places have been taken by others of a less active kind: driving, smoking, lounging about, business club interests, manual or mechanical work, playing with or helping children with their lessons, committee meetings, going to the movies, and motoring. It is quite apparent that the movies and motoring could not have a prominent place in the previous period for the reason that they had not then become available to most of our people. It is also apparent that bicycling has, at the time into which this age period of our group falls, come to have universally very much less importance as a spare-time activity than it had 20 years before.

Certain of the spare-time activities characteristic of the previous period have become more popular in this period. Thus, entertaining friends and attending luncheons, dinners, etc., has advanced from twelfth to fourth place; travel, from tenth to fifth; going to the country, the seashore, and the mountains, from sixteenth to thirteenth; sight-seeing, from twenty-second to seventeenth; miscellaneous club activities, from twenty-fifth to seventh; charitable and social activities, from thirty-first to twelfth; gardening, from thirty-second to eighteenth; tennis, from thirty-eighth to thirty-first; and going to lectures, from fortieth to twenty-fourth.

These changes indicate growing predominance of those activities which contribute to the development of personality in its social relations; they are signs of maturing character and of an enlarging social vision. On the other hand, these occupations are less related to active, simply physical recreation interests and more closely connected with business and social purposes. These changes in relative emphasis seem to indicate the encroachment of the passion for social advancement, and of the drive of business demands upon the purely recreational activities.

Correspondingly, certain of the spare-time activities characteristic of the preceding period have lost position: walking and hiking, picnics, swimming and skating, the more active recreations, all show lowered place. The social activities have changed in character, those to which choice is led by sex interests now playing the less prominent part.

It is certainly possible that the less active life implied in the activities of this period is dangerous to physical welfare. Is it mere coincidence that this striking decrease in active recreation marks the period of life in which a remarkable increase of deaths from heart, artery, kidney, and nerve diseases has been statistically noted? According to the data on industrial mortality published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for 1911, these diseases cause 51.2 per cent of all deaths at the age of 40 and over. In the registration area of the United States, they cause 51.4 per cent of these deaths.[1] According to Dr. Fisk of the Life Extension Institute, the death rates of native whites in the registration area of the United States increased 14.7 per thousand deaths in 1900 to 16.6 per thousand in 1910, for the age period from 45 to 49 years; from 17.2 per thousand in 1900 to 19.6 per thousand in 1910, for that from 50 to 54 years; and from 22.3 per thousand in 1900 to 27.0 per thousand in 1910 for that from 55 to 59 years.[2] Says Professor Hetherington:

> The Life Extension Institute presents statistics showing that, while typhoid fever has decreased 5 per cent, tuberculosis 43 per cent, pneumonia 41 per cent, diseases of the nervous system have increased 30 per cent, heart disease 38 per cent, kidney and urinary diseases 43 per cent, liver and

[1] Louis I. Lubin, "Possibilities of Reducing Mortality at the Higher Age Groups," paper read before the American Public Health Association, September, 1913.

[2] Eugene Fisk, "Increased Mortality in the United States," *New York Medical Journal*, January 15, 1916.

digestive diseases 23 per cent. . . . The dominating and outstanding cause, the one to which all others are but contributing causes, and the one more essentially characteristic of our age than any other, because it affects practically all classes at all age periods, is the decrease in outdoor life and vigorous muscular activity.

Compare our mode of living today with that of 1860 (the time when modern machinery began to come into popular use) in its effect on vigorous activities, and you will see ample cause for our national physical condition. Since 1860 our whole active life has come to be dominated by the machine. It has stripped the old home of its industrial activities, thus at once changing the home in size, function, and opportunities for work and play, and created our huge industrial centers, with their cramping influences on outdoor activities. In vast numbers industrial workers have been reduced to mere electric-button pushers. Farm work has been changed from exhausting toil to a mechanic's job. Electric cars, elevators, and automobiles have contracted the functions of our legs to merely moving us from one machine to another. Walking is now a recreative art fostered under the stimulus of great organizations like the Prairie Club of Chicago, or the Sierra Club of California. In a word, machines are doing our work, not our muscles.

Note that this decrease in vigorous muscular activity among adults directly parallels the rise of organic diseases.

Furthermore, not only have the social changes incident to the rise of present-day industrialism reduced adult muscular activity, but, worse yet, they have inhibited the vigorous outdoor physical play of millions of children. This play is vastly more important in the life of the child today than ever before, because the opportunities for vigorous work with parents disappeared with home manufacture, the rise of highly specialized labor, and the greater demands of the school. Yet recreational surveys in many cities and rural districts show that over 44 per cent of children are "loafing" during their play time. "The play of children has broken down; we must

teach them how to play," has been one of the slogans of the playground movement since its organized beginning in 1906.

Note again that this decrease in the vigorous outdoor play of children has directly paralleled the increase during recent years of degenerative organic diseases among children.

Years of observation and experiment in the gymnasium and on the athletic field, the noting of the results of physical training during youth, the results of the lack of such training, and the results, in the middle-age and late-age period, of the competition between those who have had and those who have not had a vigorous physical life during childhood and youth, have convinced us that in this training lies the source of developed power to stand this wear and tear of strenuous life-effort, and that the lack of it is a source of weakness. Why is this? Because activity is the sole means of development of any power. It is the sole means of education. Paderewski did not develop his skill by holding his hands in his pockets and whistling. Edison did not gain his world-fame by sleeping. Gotch did not become master of the mat by playing cards and smoking cigarettes. The power developed along any line, physical or mental, depends upon the intensity and duration of the exercise of that power through many years.

Apply this principle to the development of the heart as an example of one vital organ. The heart grows, and we can draw a curve to picture this growth by age periods. The heart also develops under the stimulus, and only under the stimulus, of exercise that heightens its functional activity. This development is well illustrated in the training of a distance runner. The runner is given a certain distance to run at a given speed each day. This is repeated, according to the runner's condition, day after day, frequently for many weeks and many years. The heart is exercised. The result is the development of a heart power which enables the runner to accomplish feats in running not possible to anyone of equal native capacity who has not exercised his heart in the same way. We have no direct volitional control over the heart, so

we do not exercise it as we do the arm or leg muscles, which is a point of confusion for the layman. The heart, like all the vital organs, is exercised indirectly by making it function more rapidly in supplying a larger amount of blood to the muscles which are actually doing the running. The child begins this process of "training" in its spontaneous play early in life, and continues it through youth. The process in the development of the respiratory function, the heat-regulating function, and the digestive and eliminating functions, is similar. Vigorous games and athletic activities are developers of organic power—the nutritive power to stand the wear and tear of strenuous living.

Apply the principle again to the development of the nervous system. Every group of muscles has a nervous center which controls it. There are nervous centers which control the large, bulky muscles of the trunk, the shoulder and upper arm, and the hip and thigh, and there are nervous centers which control the fine muscles of the fingers, the toes, the tongue, or the eye. The nervous centers controlling the large, bulky muscles were made to carry the burdens of life, not the nervous centers controlling the fine muscles. If you will attempt to walk a short distance on the toes, or on the hands, or in any way carry the weight of the body on the fingers, you will see that these muscles and nervous centers were not made for burdensome work. They were evolved to make the fine adjustments. *Yet our civilization is throwing the burden of all activity on the finer muscles and the nervous centers controlling them. The big muscles and related nervous centers have relatively little use except in play and organized recreation, and here is the crux of the physical problem of civilization.*

It is frequently said that we do not need to develop large muscles; our civilization does not require such development. This is true if we have in mind hurling a spear, wielding an ax, or swinging a scythe. But muscular development is a symbol—a symbol of nervous development and power. The nervous center controlling a muscle can be developed only through the exercise of the muscle. A thorough develop-

ment of the large muscles of the trunk and limbs in natural activities causes a full development of the nervous centers controlling these muscles. This is the source of strength and skill—vastly more important, *it is the source of developed nervous vitality and staying-power*. It gives control of latent inherited nervous resources for life-functions. Thoroughly developed, the nervous centers controlling the large muscles carry with ease the wear and tear of life; they support the burden on the fine muscle centers. With the advance of years, the muscle tissues shrink in size, but the nervous centers developed during youth retain their functional power. Men having this nervous development are those who work intensely clear on into old age.

Well-developed vital organs and nervous centers are sources of power. Undeveloped organs or nervous centers are sources of weakness, subject to disease and apt to break under the strain of modern life. The time for this development is childhood and youth. It cannot be gained after maturity, and it cannot be gained in any one year or group of years, either in childhood or youth. No process of training can give the boy of eight the development possible to a boy of 18. And no training will give the boy of 18 the development that should naturally be his if the training of previous years has been neglected. There is a growth order in the child which must be observed, and there is a normal development possible for each age period of child life. The growth order must be followed and the development secured. Not only does development require activity at each age period, but it requires huge amounts of this activity, especially during late childhood and the early adolescent years.[1]

It is obvious that people may follow a mode of life which will produce useful citizens and yet lead to the degenerative diseases of the body and mind

[1] Clark W. Hetherington, "Shall Military Training Be Given Our Youth?" Senate Document No. 22, 65th Congress, 1st Session.

so menacing to this sedentary generation. Such a balance between the activities which satisfy a growing interest in community affairs and those which are purely recreational should be struck as will conserve both the purpose of social usefulness and individual physical and mental efficiency; there is need here of a direction which will serve both interests without injury to either.

Certain differences between the relation of the spare-time activities of the men to those of the women appear in this period. Occupying the same relative position in the spare-time activities of both sexes are: reading; going to the theater; visiting relatives or friends; travel; entertaining friends (attending luncheons, dinners, etc.); clubs (miscellaneous); card-playing; musical activities; going to the country, seashore, mountains, etc.; committee meetings; rowing; skating; parties; writing; lounging about; and gym work or calisthenics. The correspondence between the respective activities of the sexes in this period is closer than in any previous period, and the inactive recreations hold favor in still greater number; the indication is of still greater conformity of the recreations of men to those of women than in former periods (see Diagrams 12 and 12*a*).

Certain activities have changed in relative position in the respective preferences of the sexes. Those which rank higher among the preferences of the men than among those of the women are: motoring, going to the movies, gardening, fishing, camping,

swimming, tennis, baseball, and townball; those which have greater popularity among the women than among the men are: walking or hiking, dancing,

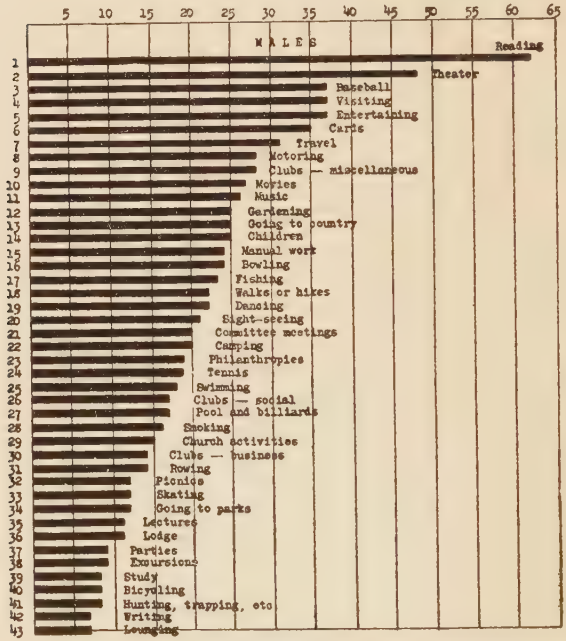


Diagram 12.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of Men in the Marriage-to-Past-Year Period

sight-seeing, charitable and social activities, social clubs, church activities, picnics, going to parks, going to lectures, excursions, studying, driving, and home duties.

Certain activities are engaged in by men exclusively: manual or mechanical work, pool and billiards, smoking, business clubs, lodge activities,

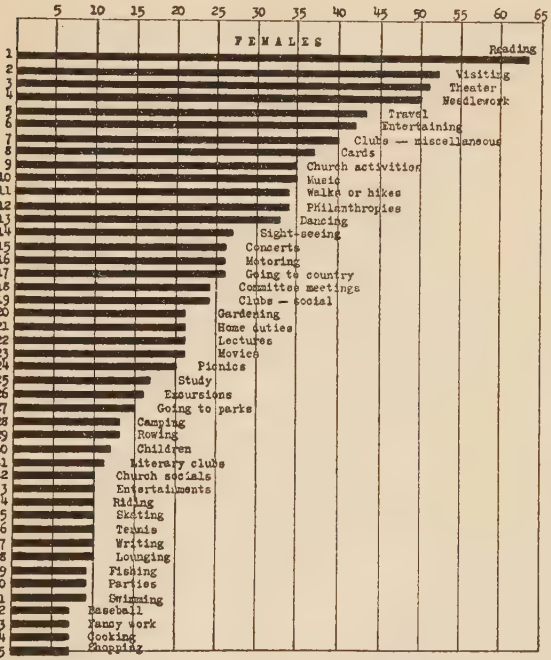


Diagram 12*a*.—Relative Popularity of the Spare-Time Activities of Women in the Marriage-to-Past-Year Period

bicycling, hunting and trapping, and sailing. Certain others are confined to the interests of women: cooking and baking, shopping, dramatics, settlement

work, tea parties, fancy work, church socials, entertainments, literary club activities, and sewing and crocheting.

Two things stand out in the review of this period of the lives of these people:

1. The tendency of the men's activities to fall into line with those of the women is shown by the greater number of activities occupying the same relative rank in the choices of the two sexes in this as compared with earlier periods. This means a proportionately greater adaptation of the activities of the men, as against the women's, to the demands of convention, and to the pressure of business and social interests (the results are to be seen in the greater number of degenerative diseases of men than of women as indicated by the studies of the Life Extension Institute and of the insurance companies).

2. All of this indicates the necessity of placing greater emphasis on outdoor activities. A constructive leadership in recreation would be able to secure this emphasis without forfeiting the social and business advantages aimed for in the scheme of activities now in force.

IV. Present Spare-Time Activities

The total number of activities mentioned as pursuits of the present—i. e., the current period, beginning with the year of this study—is 114, as compared with a total of 108 for the previous period; but if for the respective periods the activities re-

ported by only one or two persons are eliminated, the same comparative decrease in number of activities is shown for this period as compared with that last preceding it, as appeared in the comparison of the third period with the second. Thus, there are 84 activities reported by two or more people in the present period, while in the preceding period there were 90 of these.

The same thing appears if only the activities reported by 15 or more people in the respective periods are admitted for comparison. Of these there are 42, as compared with 44 for the preceding period; the relative frequencies of these, as indicated by the numbers of persons reporting them, are shown in Diagram 13. This slight drop in numerical total of activities engaged in by large numbers is more significant than the larger total number of activities mentioned. The narrowing of recreational interest as well as the concentration of interest on less active pursuits is indicated also by the number of persons engaging in the most popular activity, reading. This number is 159, as compared with 125 for the previous period. The recreational life of this period, therefore, only appears to be richer than that of the other periods. Moreover, this apparently greater richness may be due only to the fact that the more recent activities are fresher in memory.

The activities which have practically the same relative position in both periods are reading, going to the theater, visiting relatives or friends, musical activities, sewing and crocheting, playing with or

helping children, gardening, baseball and townball, picnics, skating, bowling, motoring, and entertaining friends and attending luncheons, dinners, etc.

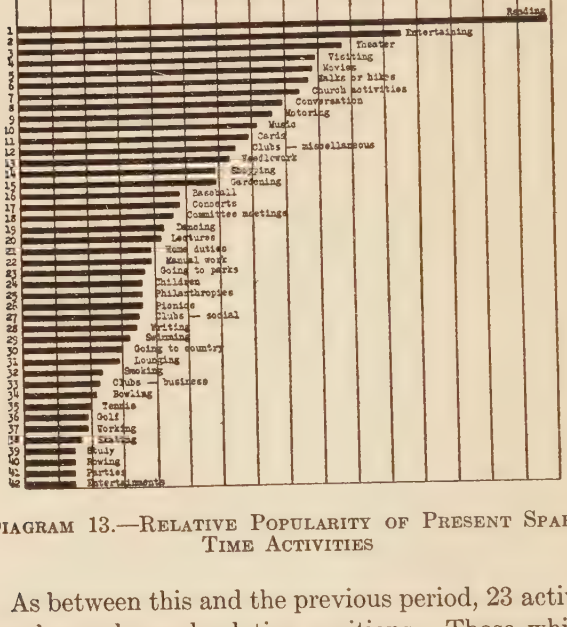


DIAGRAM 13.—RELATIVE POPULARITY OF PRESENT SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES

As between this and the previous period, 23 activities have changed relative positions. Those which have receded in importance are card-playing, social and other clubs, going to the country, seashore, and mountains, dancing, tennis, studying, rowing, going to parties, and charitable and social activities. Those which have advanced in favor are going to the movies, walking and hiking, church activities, going to concerts, going to lectures, home duties, manual or mechanical work, going to parks, writ-

ing, swimming, smoking, lounging about, business clubs, and committee meetings.

Activities of the preceding period which have been dropped in this period are traveling, sightseeing, driving, playing pool and billiards, excursions, fishing, and camping. New activities of the present period mentioned by 15 or more are shopping, golf, working, entertainments, and conversation.

Reading, as has been shown, again occupies first place. The increasing force of social obligations in determining the choice of spare-time activities is indicated by the decisively greater weight given to such activities as entertaining friends and attending luncheons and dinners, to church activities, and, perhaps resultantly, to conversation. The importance of the latter among the interests of this period is striking, in view of the fact that it has not attained to a place among the activities mentioned by 15 or more people in any of the preceding periods. It may be that here also more detailed memory of recent occupations accounts for the difference. It is quite possible, also, that the vast and pressing issues that, since the world-war began, have come to overhang all thought and intercourse, have given a grave and purposeful weight to conversation, aside from an overwhelming new fulness of topics and interest.

Walking or hiking has become more popular, as is shown not only by its relative position in the two periods, but also by the fact that 87 people report it in this period as compared with 56 in the previous period. Yet careful analysis of the activities of the two periods leads to the conclusion that the more

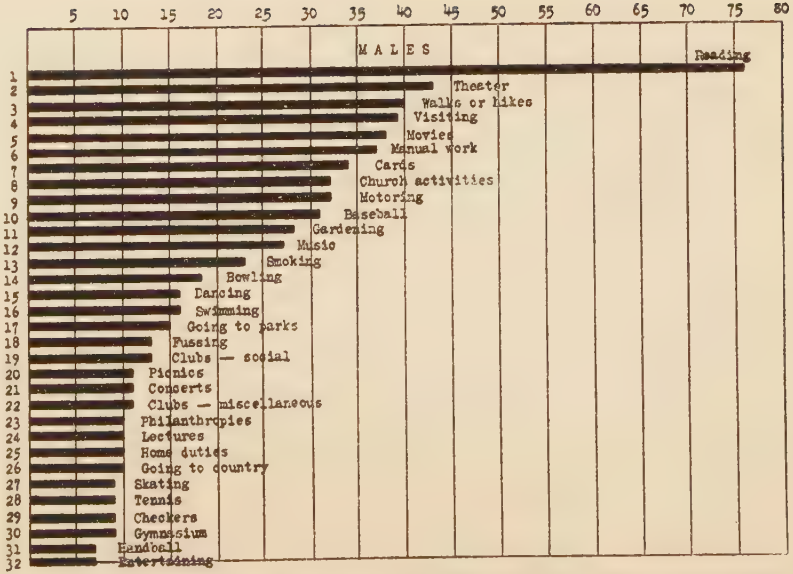


DIAGRAM 14.—RELATIVE POPULARITY OF PRESENT SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF MEN

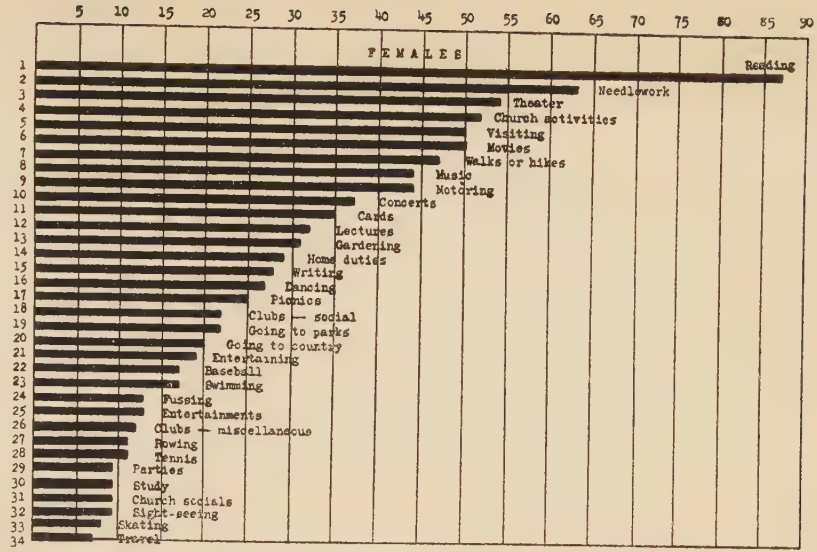


DIAGRAM 14*a*.—RELATIVE POPULARITY OF PRESENT SPARE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

active spare-time pursuits have given way to those which denote increased social contacts and responsibilities, or to the quieter and more sedentary recreations. The growing tendency toward substitution of social and inactive recreations for the more strenuous physical occupations points to the same problem as has been indicated in relation to the preceding period. Certainly such a tendency has an ominous as well as an encouraging side.

Comparison of the respective spare-time activities of men and women in this period brings to light some interesting facts. Diagrams 14 and 14*a* show the relative popularity of the occupations of the sexes. The spare-time pursuits which have a higher place in the preferences of the women than in those of the men are church and musical activities, attending concerts and lectures, home duties, writing, going to the country, seashore, and mountains, and entertaining friends. Those which are relatively more popular with men than with women are: walking or hiking, card-playing, going to parks, baseball, swimming, fussing, miscellaneous clubs, skating, and charitable and social activities. Activities peculiar to the men, or at least not engaged in by 15 or more of the women in this period, are bowling, playing checkers, gym work and calisthenics, handball, quoits, lodge activities, fishing, smoking, and manual or mechanical work. Those peculiar to the women, or, similarly, not reported by a minimum of 15 persons of the opposite sex, are entertainments, rowing, church socials, sight-seeing, bathing, fancy work, sewing and crocheting, singing, and dramatics.

Thirteen activities occupy exactly corresponding

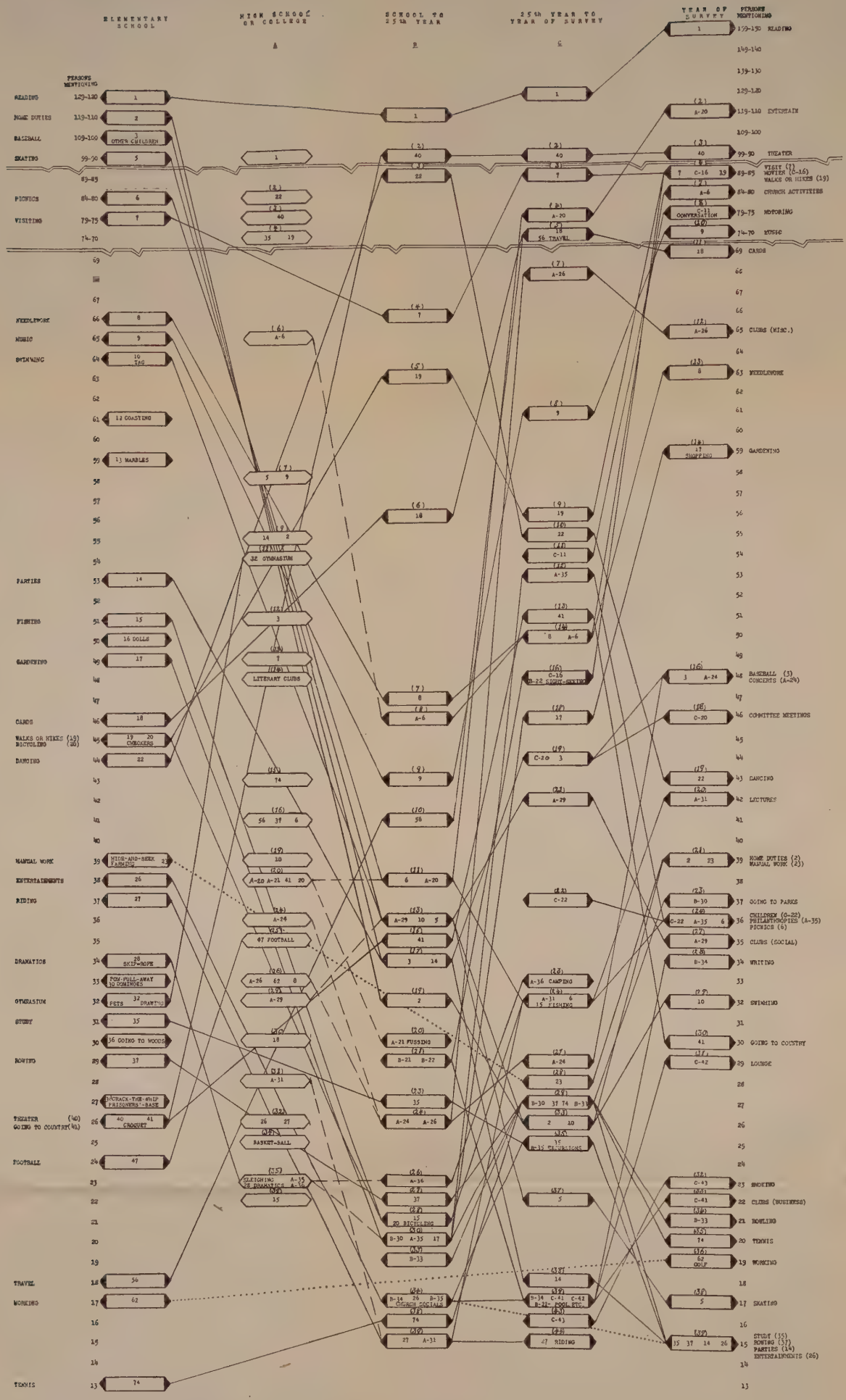


DIAGRAM 15.—CHANGING RELATIVE IMPORTANCE AND POPULARITY OF ALL THE ACTIVITIES OF 160 WHOLESOME CITIZENS FROM CHILDHOOD TO PRESENT TIME

places in the spare-time activities of the two sexes: reading, going to the theater, visiting relatives or friends, going to the movies, motoring, gardening, dancing, picnics, social clubs, tennis, parties, studying, and travel. These include most of the most popular recreations, and this correspondence shows still further how much the recreations of men tend to conform to those of women as men become less active physically.

Graphic Review of All the Activities of the Four Periods

In conclusion, Diagram 15 presents a graphic summary of all the activities of the four periods. This chart is a combined array of the increasing and decreasing, the fluctuating and constant, and the early-discarded and late-appearing activities charted in Diagram 1 (chap. ii), and includes also the activities limited to single periods. For convenience in following the diagram, the explanation given for the companion charts of Diagram 1 is repeated here:

The five columns of blocks represent the spare-time activities of our 160 people for the four inclusive age periods: the first two columns show the activities of the school-life period, in its two divisions—(1) the elementary school years, and (2) the high school and college years; the third column represents the activities of (3) the school-to-marriage period; the fourth column includes the activities of (4) the marriage-to-past-year period; the last column represents the activities of (5) the "present" time. Each block of the first period stands for the one or more activities designated opposite it at the left in

the outer column; for the sake of added convenience in identifying the activities, as well as in order to identify such activities as are begun after the first period and, therefore, are not named in the left-hand column, this column of names is repeated at the right.

The figures within the blocks may be explained as follows: In the first column, they indicate for the first period the order of popularity, in relation to one another, of the respective activities which the blocks designate. These numbers are retained as *key numbers* to designate the same respective activities throughout the remaining periods. In this way an activity can readily be identified from period to period. Its relative ranking in any given period after the first is shown by the number in parenthesis placed just over the block. The connecting lines trace the relative rankings of the activities from period to period. A dotted line connecting a block in one period with a corresponding block in a period at two or three removes from the former shows that the activity in question has lapsed in the intervening period or periods.

The columns of figures at either side against the blocks, headed "Persons Mentioning," indicate the numbers of persons reporting the respective activities. Where it occurs that two or more activities are reported by like numbers of persons, the key number of each is given in parenthesis against the name of the activity in the outer column; this is for purposes of identification in blocks which repre-

sent two or more activities. Only those activities named by more than 12 persons are represented in the diagram. For those activities named by 70 or more persons, the scale is changed to one of 5 points, and for those named by 90 or more it is condensed to 10 points. The places at which these changes occur are indicated by the double ridged lines crossing the diagram.

Out of the 160 persons studied, 110 went to high school or college. The mentions of the recreations of the high school and college period have been weighted so as to make them comparable with those of the other periods. The scores have been increased by 45 per cent in order to show what the popularity of these recreations would have been with 160 persons reporting, instead of the 110 of our group who actually did secure the higher education. The blocks of the first column, for the elementary school period, and those of the second column, for the high school and college period, are not connected with one another, nor the blocks of the second period with the blocks in the third or after-school column.[1] This break in the scheme of the diagram was made because for 50 of our people there was no progression from the elementary school to the high school and college period, but instead directly to what we have defined

[1] Two exceptions will be noted: (1) two activities which begin in childhood and are carried only through the high school and college period are connected to show this relation; (2) eight activities begin only in the latter period and are continued into later life, and are therefore connected with those of the third period for the sake of emphasizing this sequence. The latter special relation is shown by the broken lines.

as the after-school or working period. This intermediate or second school period in the lives of those who did go to high school or to college, however, is represented by the second column of blocks showing the relative popularity of the interests of this period. The third column represents the sequel to both the elementary and the high school and college periods. This manner of relating the periods seems to be the fairest way of showing the relation of all the activities of youth to those of later life.

When an activity appears in only one period its name is lettered into the block instead of a key number. Similarly, when an activity is not carried through the five periods, the name is lettered into its block for that period in which it ends. The names of such activities do not appear in the outer columns; the latter, therefore, present a list of those activities which are sustained through more than one period—i. e., such as begin in the first period and are sustained through more than one period, and such as begin later and are carried through to the last period.

Where an activity appears for the first time in the second period its key number is prefixed by the letter *A;* where it appears for the first time in the third period, by the letter *B;* where it appears for the first time in the fourth period, by the letter *C*. An activity which appears only in the last period, since it appears but once, is designated by the name itself lettered into the block.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Certain "acid test" questions challenge us at the end of our analysis. Assuming that those who have reported the data here given are wholesome people, and assuming that they have on the whole reported their histories correctly, what do the facts teach us? Do we observe any regularities in the occurrences of situation and of attitude which we have been studying? Are the similarities and differences between the periods of their lives, and between the sexes in each period, pregnant with any meaning? Does our study offer any guidance in the solution of this city's problem of how to make the spare time of its people effective for constructive development?

If this inquiry sheds no light upon the problem of the constructive use of recreation, then, no matter how interesting it may be as a study in figures, it has been a waste of time, energy, and money. If, however, it serves to show us what wholesome people have done in their spare time; if it illuminates the question as to how they came to form these leisure habits which are correlated with personalities which their fellow-townsmen have pronounced "wholesome"; if it has revealed tendencies

which are inherent in wholesome people, changing from period to period in their lives; if it indicates with any degree of probability what habits are conducive to the development of sound personality, and what habits are not; if it has thrown any light upon the function of spare-time opportunities: then it has been worth while, no matter how much it will come to be revised in the light of more extensive studies.

In endeavoring to sum up the results of our study, we must observe that most of our people grew up before public recreation systems had their origin, and before the modern recreation movement had made much headway; hence the importance of public recreation systems does not appear directly from the findings of our study. We have instances of a few of our people, it is true, who had direction given to their spare-time activities by a public playground connected with a settlement, that institution which pioneers in so many innovations in social policy. A good many more have benefited from the public parks, which in recent years have become centers of recreational opportunity. The remainder of our people, for the most part, formed their recreation habits under the hit-and-miss policy and more or less haphazard methods of our schools and homes, and in the streets. For the most part, therefore, the expert in the use of spare time does not appear. Only the natural leaders, who were feeling their way toward directing the spare-time activities of children, have had a part in the recreational education of our people.

Moreover, the recreation habits of our people, especially in their earlier years, were formed before commercialized recreations had taken the direction given to them in recent times. Most of them, for example, knew nothing in their childhood about the movies. Therefore, only tentative conclusions about the bearing of modern commercialized recreation on the development of wholesome persons can be drawn from this study.

Again, it must not be forgotten that with the growth of Cleveland overcrowding of the land has been increasing. Twenty and 40 years ago there was much more open space around houses in Cleveland than there is today; a great many of our people speak of the large yards around the houses in which they lived as children. In a great many cases this gave room for pets, gardens, and home playgrounds, which are disappearing in the city today.

Once more it must be remembered as having a bearing upon the problem of recreation organized for the development of wholesome people, that when these people were children the lives of their parents were probably more closely connected with their children's activities than the lives of parents today. The factory system had not developed to the degree which it has reached today.

On all these accounts, he who would suggest a program adapted to the development of wholesome personalities today must plan to bring trained leadership to the aid of natural leaders, provide play space which 40 years ago naturally existed, and organize

the spare time of today so as to make it directly serve the needs of people in the more highly complex civilization of our day.

In the endeavor to interpret our findings it must be kept clearly in mind, on the one hand, that it is impossible to deduce from this study quantitative conclusions as to:

1) The *extent* to which recreation influenced the characters of our people;

2) The relative *measure* of the influence of spare-time activities, as compared with other influences;

3) What activities produce wholesome results in personality and what activities produce harmful results.

On the other hand, there are certain conclusions of another sort which we are clearly warranted in setting up as a result of this study:

1. Spare-time pursuits have, either directly or indirectly, entered in as decisive factors in the development of these people. These activities have not been the only forces which wrought the marvel of wholesome personality, but they have been more uniformly present than any other factor.

2. Since leadership appears to be the important factor in the formation of those spare-time habits that conduce to wholesomeness, all those who are interested in the development of Cleveland's greatest asset, namely, wholesome citizens, should frankly face the problem of securing leaders. Opportunities and facilities will not solve the problem; as has been shown many times, a well-equipped playground

lacking in provision for careful direction and guidance of those who use it may become a hotbed of vicious practices. On the other hand, opportunities and facilities will be provided if leaders are present to urge the need. Whether the initial cost of securing this leadership is much or little, it will not be too great.

Such leaders must be secured as will take due account of activities already established by convention and tradition; for the use of these they should have a carefully thought-out program. They should be natural leaders, carefully trained in the best schools of the technique of recreation; they should know not only recreational technique, but psychology, especially the psychology of groups, and enough sociology to make them sure of the ultimate social aims toward which they are driving.

3. Since the study shows that the spare-time pursuits engaged in at home and out of school hours occupy the most important place in the lives of children and youth, it is important to frame a program for such spare-time pursuits, to replace the present haphazard methods of letting children find their own diversions. This program should set up a standard and serve as a basis for propaganda by which socialized activities, suited to the needs and appealing to the interests of children, may become established as conventional. Such a program can easily give due regard to the claim of parents upon the services of their children in their spare time.

4. A great many wholesome uses of spare time

have come down to us from the past. To supplement these, recreational leaders should devise many others fitted to the physical and psychological needs of the various groups of people within the city. The traditional and customary games should be studied in their relation to each of the age periods, with the frank question as to whether they are constructive in their effect upon personality or whether they merely waste time. Probably the most of them, under good leadership, will be found to have value; those that have not should be displaced by others that assure better results. Under the direction of competent leaders, many more clubs and organizations for the profitable use of spare time could be got under way. Such organizations, placing responsibility upon individuals, would enlist the hearty support of a great army of volunteers. These enterprises, moreover, would have a social value of their own.

5. The part played by the church in the lives of these people is very important. Its work has not been dominated by the recreational motive, however, to any considerable extent, and it has been unco-ordinated with either the home or the school. That it has served the purpose of constructive occupation of spare time we have seen reason to believe. The church and its responsible officers should take this motive into more serious consideration in planning their church work, especially that for children and youth. The play or recreation motive should be invoked, not to serve as a bait for young people,

but because the occupation of the spare time of the latter in connection with the religious and moral teaching of the church promises wholesome development, and also because attention to such interests would bring the child and the youth within the sphere of influence of people in the church whose lives are wholesome.

Care must be taken, however, that the whole program for the use of spare time is in the minds of the religious leaders. The church must not attempt to compete with either the home or the school, but it must supply those spare-time activities that cannot be supplied, or supplement those that cannot be adequately supplied, by either the home or the school because of the peculiar religious situation in our country. That the church is already endeavoring to adapt itself to the situation is suggested by the evidence submitted (chap. vii) that while our people tended to drop their church activities for some time after marriage or the twenty-fifth year, they have been resuming a more or less active church life in their later years.

6. Certain natural tendencies in the human organism underlie the fact that the types of activity which attract an individual change with his increasing years. Likewise, custom or tradition and convention determine to a very large extent the manner in which people use their leisure. As they grow older, their conventional spare-time activities tend less and less to be of the outdoor, athletic kind, and to diverge more and more from those physically

salutary forms which have played a part in the building of the race. The activities of the men especially show a conspicuous veering from the course indicated by the earlier active pursuits of their group, into a conformity with the increasingly conventionalized activities of the women—a relaxing trend as yet not sufficiently offset by the new popular devotion to strenuous outdoor modes. If this slacking tendency is to be effectively combatted for the sake of the physical and mental health of the people of Cleveland, the city should not shrink from the problem of shaping a program, under expert direction, which, while allowing for the fact that people's habits change with years, will still conserve the vigor of the individual, promote his mental alertness, and develop his social spirit. The tendency to spend spare time inactively should be combatted by encouragement of out-of-door and distinctly athletic activities. Activitities which give due emphasis to the physical needs in each period of life, but which also develop the social interests of the individual and give due place to the business purposes which now so largely usurp the place of genuine recreational impulses, must be substituted for the merely sedentary activities which now so largely fill the spare time of adults.

7. The whole program proposed should be worked out in connection with the schools. As is indicated in the report of the Cleveland Education Survey,[1] no agency enters so completely into the lives of

[1] Cleveland Education Survey, Vol. XXVI.

children and youth as the school system; moreover, in the schools a beginning has already been made toward organized direction of spare time. But just as the social centers represent only one kind of concentration of interest on the use of spare time among both adults and children, and playgrounds another special focus, so a school program unco-ordinated with the various other interests in the community will not solve the problem.

8. Most important of all, the whole problem of the use of spare time is an educational problem in the larger sense of the term. Frank recognition should be given to the proposition that the proper use of spare time is education. Educators should recognize that play educates; the church should recognize that play gives opportunity for religion to function; employers should be aware that the proper use of spare time makes more efficient workmen; social workers should appreciate that right use of spare time means the development of socially minded men and women. The comprehensively educational program, therefore, should take into account all those agencies which have access to the spare time of children, youth, and adults, and the fact that the churches, homes, schools, and shops, the streets, the parks, and the commercialized recreational institutions, are all parts of the whole background of recreational opportunity, and that cooperation among these will give unifying purpose to their several contributions. As has been said, people do not yet adequately recognize that the proper

ordering of spare time means not only increased physical vigor, but greater mental alertness and the development of social bonds; least of all have they seen that the proper use of leisure means increased efficiency in the industry and commerce of our day.

Let no one lay down this volume feeling that the writer believes that in the use of spare time we have the only factor in the making or marring of human beings. Let him not, however, leave it without a very keen sense of the important place which the use of spare time has in the molding of human character. It is one of the factors, and a very important one, in the development of wholesome people. On the development of such people depends the future not only of this city but of our country.

APPENDIX

Cleveland Foundation Recreation Survey

WHOLESOME CITIZENS AND SPARE TIME

Information received by.....Date.....

I. Person:

(a) Name.....Address.....Age last birthday.....

(b) Birthplace.....Where reared: 1. City.....
2. Small town.....3. Farm.....

(c) Marital history.....

II. Family history:

(a) Parents: Nativity; Nat'l'ty; Citizen; Speaks Eng.; Religion
Father.....
Mother.....

(b) Marital condition of parents (with dates): Married.....
Widowed.....Divorced.....Separated.....

(c) Vocation of parent: (1) Professional, etc.....(2) Mfg.....
(3) Transportation.....(4) Personal service.....
(5) Clerical.....(6) Farmer.....(7) Other.....

(d) Other facts relating to parents bearing upon personal development.....

(e) Separation from parent's family:
1. Dates of temporary separations.....Reasons.....
2. Date of final separation.....Reasons.....

(f) Number of other children in parents' family: Older....Younger....

(g) Others in parents' household while person remained in family:
Boarders.....Others.....

III. Educational history:

(a) Elementary schools: Public.....Private.....Parochial.....
1. Extent.....
2. Reason for leaving.....

(b) Secondary school: Public.....Private.....Parochial.....
1. Extent.....
2. Reason for leaving.....

(c) College: Public.....Private.....Parochial.....
1. Extent.....
2. Reason for leaving.....

(d) Technical.....

(e) Military.....

IV. Vocational history:

(a) Employments, nature of work, approximate income, and dates .....

(b) Other facts.....

V. Religious history:

(a) Denomination.....

(b) Date of conversion, or.....

(c) Date of confirmation or joining church.....

(d) Present religious activities.....

(e) Date of lapse of religious activities.....

(f) Other facts.....

VI. Spare-time activities up to time of leaving school (make grammar school, high school, and college periods distinct):

(a) At home.....

(b) At school.....

(c) Elsewhere.....

(d) Vacations.....

(e) How person came to form these spare-time activities (a, b, c, d) .....

(f) Preference in spare-time activities (1, 2, 3, 4).....

VII. Spare-time activities after leaving school until marriage or up to 25th year of age:

(a) At home.....

(b) At work place.....

(c) Elsewhere.....

(d) Vacations.....

(e) How person came to form these spare-time activities (a, b, c, d) .....

(f) Preference in spare-time activities (1, 2, 3, 4).....

VIII. Spare-time activities after marriage or from 25th year of age up to past year:

(a) At home.....

(b) At work place.....

(c) Elsewhere.....

(d) Vacations.....

(e) How person came to form these spare-time activities (a, b, c, d) .....

(f) Preference in spare-time activities (1, 2, 3, 4).....

IX. Effect of spare-time activities:

(a) Which have been helpful (how)?.....

(b) Which have been harmful (how)?.....

X. Calendar of present spare-time activities:

(a) On a work day: Winter; Summer; Hourly calendar of all kinds of activities

1. At home.....
2. At work place.....
3. Elsewhere.....

(b) On a Saturday: Winter; Summer; Hourly calendar of all kinds of activities

1. At home.....
2. At work place.....
3. Elsewhere.....

(c) On a Sunday: Winter; Summer; Hourly calendar of all kinds of activities

1. At home.....
2. At church.....
3. Elsewhere.....

XI. Ways in which interest in present activities is maintained:

(a) Suggestion and example of friends.....

(b) Membership in a club promoting the activity.....

(c) Appreciation of physical benefits of the activity.....

(d) Appreciation of social advantages of engaging in the activity.....

(e) Enjoyment obtained from the activity.....

(f) Conscious appreciation of personal development resulting from the activity.....

(g) Influence of community direction of the activity.....

(h) Other ways.....

XII. Description of nature of present work, showing whether work is mechanical in nature, or whether it enlists interest sufficiently to be equivalent, in part at least, to recreation which involves spontaneous activity. Does person whistle, sing, or commit to memory verses, literary passages, etc., while at work?

.....

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CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY REPORTS

These reports can be secured from the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 2025 East Ninth Street, Cleveland, Ohio. They will be sent postpaid for 25 cents per volume, with the exception of the summary volume, which will be sent for 50 cents.

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STUDIES OF AGENCIES

THE SPHERE OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS
KATHERINE VASSAULT, Richmond Hill Social Settlement, New York City

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF RECREATION
CHARLOTTE RUMBOLD, formerly Secretary Public Recreation Commission, St. Louis, Mo.; Assistant Secretary Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio

PUBLIC PROVISION FOR RECREATION
ROWLAND HAYNES, formerly Recreation Secretary New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment; Director War Camp Community Service, New York City

SUMMARY

A COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM
ROWLAND HAYNES, Directing Consultant
ALLEN T. BURNS, Director

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Wholesome citizens and spare time
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